CE $1.95

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. on
agan,
ALT, Realism —Page 51

NATIONAL REVIEW

America On Course

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The Ruling Class Adrift

MAX SINGER

MG0710304 809 02786 12 P 050 G
**** ROY E SMITH
PO BOX 1779
COLORADO SPGS CO 80901

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The People & The Press," Ad #7 in a series

Does a free press strengthen democracy?

That's the acid test, isn't it? The ultimate "worth" question. What else is a free press for, finally?

At our request, Gallup pollsters recently put that question to a national sample of American citizens. It was part of a comprehensive investigation of public attitudes toward the press.

And the answer was a heartening "yes."

54% thought a free press strengthened democracy; 23% thought it hurt democracy; 13% said neither; and 10% didn't know.

Among people who knew a lot about the press, 58% thought it strengthened democracy; 22% thought it hurt; 16% said neither; and 4% didn't know.

Also heartening, those who said a free press strengthened democracy were as likely to be youthful Democratic women as venerable Republican men.

People from all social and political groups responded affirmatively. They disagreed on lots of press issues, but not on this one.

What do you think?

The primary purpose of our investigation — and the ads and Times Mirror Forums that discuss it — is to learn more about how people like you see our business.

To that end, we'd like to learn your views of press issues, especially your opinion about a free press's contribution to democracy.

Please send them to our chairman, Robert Erburu, Times Mirror, Times Mirror Square, Suite 100, Los Angeles, CA 90053.

He's also the person to write for a summary of our investigation or our new annual report. Or you can call our public affairs people at (213) 972-3946.

Who we are

We own the media properties to your right. In terms of sales, we rank 135th among Fortune magazine's current "500." In terms of net income, we're 70th.

Times Mirror Newspapers:
Los Angeles Times; Newsday; Dallas Times Herald; The Denver Post; The Hartford Courant; The Morning Call (Allentown, PA); The Stamford Advocate and Greenwich Time (Connecticut).

Times Mirror Magazines:
Popular Science; Outdoor Life; Golf Magazine; Ski Magazine; The Sporting News; National Journal.

Times Mirror TV Stations:
KDFW, Dallas; KTBC, Austin; KTVI, St. Louis; WVTM, Birmingham (AL).

Times Mirror Cable:
Fifty cable TV systems serve 300 communities in 15 northeastern, western and southwestern states.

Times Mirror Publishing:
Matthew Bender & Co., law books; C.V. Mosby, medical and college publishers; Year Book Medical Publishers, medical publications; Harry N. Abrams, art books; Mirror Systems, computer software; Learning International, training programs; Jeppesen Sanderson, flight information and training.

Times Mirror
We're interested in what you think.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The quick and easy way to learn a foreign language!

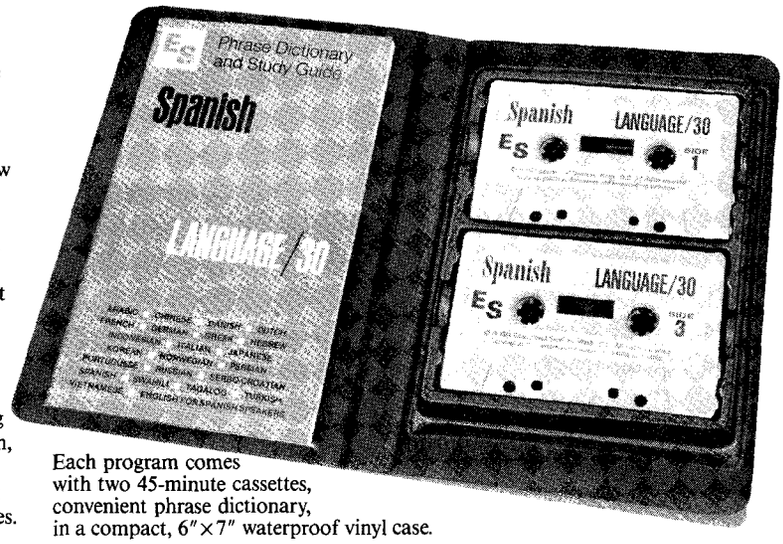
Based on the U.S. Military "Speed-up" Method of Language Learning.

Programmed for Rapid Learning!

It's been scientifically proven that we remember words we *hear* better than words we *see*. That's why you'll find the two audiocassettes in each Language/30 package more useful than all the language books money can buy. Just start listening to the tapes, repeat the foreign phrases a few times and, believe it or not, you'll begin speaking like a native. It's that simple!

Remember, Language/30 is a learning tool that *works*. It incorporates the "speed-up" method of language learning—the same method used to train U.S. government personnel who work overseas.

With Language/30, you can practice your target language anytime, anywhere. You won't have to set aside hours just for language study. You can listen to Language/30 while you're getting dressed, eating, driving to work, or even jogging. Whether you're studying French, Russian, Swahili, or any of the other 25 languages listed below, you'll improve your speaking fluency and listening comprehension *each time* you play the Language/30 tapes.



Each program comes with two 45-minute cassettes, convenient phrase dictionary, in a compact, 6″×7″ waterproof vinyl case.

Introduced by Language Expert Charles Berlitz.

Each Language/30 program features native voices speaking the most important and commonly used conversational phrases. You'll learn all the words you need to know for greetings, introductions, requests, and general conversations in hotels, restaurants, stores, theaters, and other places. And each cassette is introduced by world-renowned linguist Charles Berlitz, who explains the social customs and etiquette of the country.

So, whether you're going abroad for a short trip or an extended stay, you'll find that the fluency you've gained from Language/30 will make your visit easier, more pleasant, and more enriching. Instead of being a "stranger in a strange land," you'll be able to converse freely with the natives in their own language.

Which of these 28 languages would you like to speak?

1232628. ARABIC	1232719. INDONESIAN	1232800. SPANISH
1232636. CHINESE	1232727. ITALIAN	1232818. SWAHILI
1232644. DANISH	1232735. JAPANESE	1232826. SWEDISH
1232651. DUTCH	1232743. KOREAN	1232834. TAGALOG (FILIPINO)
1366665 FINNISH	1232750. NORWEGIAN	
1232669. FRENCH	1232768. PERSIAN	1363316 THAI
1232677. GERMAN	1300375. POLISH	1232842. TURKISH
1232685. GREEK	1232776. PORTUGUESE	1232859. VIETNAMESE
1232693. HEBREW	1232784. RUSSIAN	1232867. ENGLISH FOR SPANISH SPEAKERS
1232701. HINDI	1232792. SERBO-CROATIAN	

ONLY
$14.95

YOUR 30-DAY, NO-RISK MONEYBACK GUARANTEE

Every item you purchase from Barnes & Noble by mail must meet your standards . . . If not, return it within 30 days for a full refund.

ONE YEAR CASSETTE WARRANTY

Educational Services, Washington, D.C. warrants the cassettes of each LANGUAGE/30 course free of defects in materials and/or workmanship for a period of 12 months from date of purchase and agrees to repair or replace any defective cassette at no charge.

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES
DEPT. T497, 126 FIFTH AVE., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

Item #	Qty	Price	Ship. & Ins. ea	Total
			$1.00	
			$1.00	
			$1.00	
			Subtotal	
			N.Y., N.J., PA., MASS. res. add sales tax	
			Total	

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

✓ Check one
☐ Check or money order enclosed
☐ Please charge this to ☐Visa ☐MasterCard ☐Am. Ex.

Acct.#_____ Exp._____

Signature _____

SHIP TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State, Zip _____

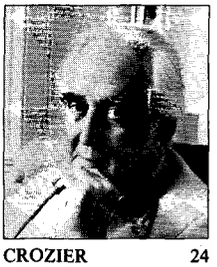
Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULY 4, 1986
VOL. XXXVIII, NO. 12

NATIONAL REVIEW

McLAUGHLIN 22


CROZIER 24

KILPATRICK 25

SINGER 27

STATE OF THE NATION

25 **A Meditation for Independence Day**
We spend a lot of time thinking and talking about what's wrong with America, but there's a lot to celebrate, even in the view of one hard-to-please conservative constitutionalist. *James Jackson Kilpatrick*

27 **The Anxieties of the Ruling Class**
America's elites don't hate America, but they're pushovers for those who do. Without high national morale, the U.S. can't face its real problems at home and abroad. *Max Singer*

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

22 **Senate Power Game**
If the Republicans keep the Senate, some plum committee chairmanships will be up for grabs, and some younger senators may start grabbing. *John McLaughlin*

24 **Indivisible Terrorism**
What's the difference between our Libyan raid and South Africa's cross-border raid? Nothing at all. *Brian Crozier*

32 **Can the Afghan Rebels Win?**
The Mujahedin have fought the Soviets to stalemate, but continued Pakistani cooperation is the key to the rebels' success. The Pakistanis won't take risks unless they trust Washington. *Marin Strmecki*

35 **Austria's American Elections**
Are Americans outraged by Waldheim's past or by his actions in the UN? The Waldheim-Führer furor is a vendetta that hurts America. *Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

36 Norman Podhoretz's *The Bloody Crossroads: Where Literature and Politics Meet* is an exhilarating analysis of contemporary cultural Stalinism, says **Jeffrey Hart**. . . . **G. B. Tennyson** finds that Gertrude Himmelfarb's *Marriage and Morals among the Victorians* isn't really about marriage, morals, or Victorians, but is an intelligent look at society in the nineteenth century. . . . Charles E. Silberman's *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* celebrates the freedom of America; **Jacob Neusner** applauds, with reservations. . . . The letters of Dylan Thomas, collected in a new edition edited by Paul Ferris, are, like their author, idealistic, tormented, amusing, rebellious, rude, drunken, boorish, and sometimes boring, but **Jeffrey Meyers** enjoyed them anyway. . . . **Paul Krza** finds the beauty and pathos of the open range painted in Gretel Ehrlich's *The Solace of Empty Spaces*. . . . **John Simon** has found a couple of small films he rather likes, but, unfortunately, they're not American. . . . **Nika Hazelton** went through heaven and hell to discover the winners of the 1986 Delectations contest. . . . **D. Keith Mano** tunes in to the New York City police.

6 LETTERS
11 FOR THE RECORD
12 THE WEEK
30 hel
45 THE RIGHT BOOKS
50 ON THE RIGHT
58 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by K. Elliott

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1986. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

80 Proof Brandy. E&J Distillers, Modesto, California. © 1986

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran

Richard Brookhiser *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Executive Editor*
Richard Vigilante *Article Editor*
Chilton Williamson Jr. *Book Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Catherine M. Shea
Jane Buckley Smith / Stephen C. Weeks

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Anna Lieber *Art Director*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
Christopher Buckley / James Burnham
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Kevin Lynch
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Gerhart Niemeyer
Grover Rees III / Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / Michael A. Scully
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

Dormant Mailer

I hope Richard Viguerie risked a peek into his mailbox to find the June 20 issue of *NR* with "Please, Mr. Postman," by David Brooks. The article was an informative and insightful look at the direct-mail man, which pointed out a rather paradoxical dilemma faced by much of the New Right nowadays. Having exerted tremendous populist appeal when railing against the establishment from outside the Beltway, now, finally in power, the New Right has lost much of its clout.

Holly Butterfield
Lubbock, Tex.

Up from Utilitarianism

Brigitte Berger's analysis of "value-rational" Old Right conservatives and "goal-rational" neoconservatives (as described by Jeffrey Hart in "Gang Warfare in Chicago," June 6) is a fine insight. Keeping this distinction in mind is essential if conservatives are to prevent the movement from becoming just another economic program or foreign policy, to be cast aside when it "doesn't work" in the next recession or foreign crisis. Man is to be free, and government is to be limited, because man has been created in the image and likeness of God, and hence has inherent dignity and worth. The egregious error of Mill, and ultimately all of liberalism, was to neglect this fact, and to defend freedom not in absolute terms, but rather by asserting that freedom produced the greatest good for the greatest number. While this is certainly true, such a defense denigrates man by implicitly acknowledging that his freedom is negotiable if it could be shown that the "greatest good" could be obtained another way. The fact that freedom's utilitarian value is not necessarily obvious at any particular point in time makes alternatives seem superficially plausible, and at times even attractive.

Timothy J. Miller
Ithaca, N.Y.

Status Quotient

I enjoyed Joseph Sobran's article, "The Politics of AIDS" [May 23]. No one can disagree that the gay community is using the immunity syndrome to enhance its victim status, a requirement for oppressed minorities these days. Moreover, gay-rights legislation is not merely to protect civil rights but rather to force the acceptance of a lifestyle. Mr. Sobran's distinction, however, between status (e.g., being Oriental) and behavior as a means of defining a minority or particular group in society rings hollow. It's really a question of epistemology. After all, many things are perceived through behavior (e.g., Republicans vote for Republicans) rather than through some inherent qualities or nature. In the case of gays, status and behavior are inseparable; indeed it is nonsensical to speak of them as being otherwise.

Lawrence Haar
Johannesburg, South Africa

What's Dead in the Bone

I was delighted by D. Keith Mano's review of the new Robertson Davies novel, *What's Bred in the Bone* [June 6], and not least by his analysis of the "mad degree" to which "the guardians of truth think we need to be defended against imagination." It reminded me of Auden's lines about

. . . this undisciplined
And concert-going age,
So lacking in conviction
It cannot take pure fiction,
And what it wants from you
Are rumors partly true . . .

Laura di Stefano
Baltimore, Md.

Take a Powder

As an erstwhile songwriter with more than a little knowledge of the record industry, I feel eminently qualified to answer the unasked question in "In Praise of Payola" ["The Week," May 23].

What differentiates promotional procedures in the music business from those in most other businesses is the fact that its major medium of exchange in quid pro quo situations is not cash but cocaine (and, to a lesser extent, various other illegal drugs). The use of and demand for this substance in the business is so pervasive that no promotion man can operate effectively without becoming a de facto drug connection, thereby removing the whole enterprise from the realm of "normal business practice" and covering it with a blanket of criminality in which the Mafia and "legitimate business" find a mutuality of interest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The original McGuffey's Readers were different. They were Christian

Now they're available again after 125 years. You can get the full set here and SAVE $70

FREE BOOK Free with each set: *McGuffey and His Readers: Piety, Morality and Education in 19th Century America* **by John H. Westerhoff III**

Rev. William McGuffey published his legendary Readers in the 1830s. Later editions, from 1857 on, were revised without his approval, and expurgated most references to religion. They were still excellent texts, but no longer Christian texts.

Now a Christian publisher, Mott Media, has reprinted the originals. We are offering them, with pride and admiration, for parents, godparents and grandparents who care enough to teach at home, or at least to *help*, the children they love.

The Original McGuffeys: 7 superb texts

Pictorial Eclectic Primer for Young Children. For kindergarten or pre-kindergarten: the alphabet, simple sentences and stories, charming original engravings.

Eclectic Primer. More advanced. For first-graders and bright kindergarteners.

Eclectic First Reader for Young Children. For second-graders or bright first-graders. Lots of spelling, and the words get as hard as "would" and "stalked" and "deranged."

Eclectic Second Reader. 85 lessons, each a well written story with a moral, some from Scripture or American history. Each lesson is followed by 1) questions drawn from it (e.g., How did Washington receive Lafayette? What is the Fifth Commandment? What is emulation?) and by 2) spelling words ("believed," "myrrh," "forsook"). When your children master this book, they'll be years ahead of their peers.

Eclectic Third Reader. Authors like Addison, Irving, Byron...Bible selections...excursions into history like the marvelous "Alexander the Great" — adults can read this book with pleasure. After your child of 8 or 9 finishes it, he's reading better, and understanding more, than most high schoolers.

Eclectic Fourth Reader. Quite beyond the average collegian today, yet within the reach of well trained 10-to-12-year-olds. Dozens of authors they should meet: Johnson, Webster, Milton, Jefferson, Schiller, Bacon, Southey, Bryant, Shakespeare, etc.

Eclectic Progressive Spelling Book. "Progressive" because it starts with basics and builds to an advanced vocabulary worthy of a graduate student. Not only definitions but pronunciations and usage in good sentences.

Mark Sullivan, in his 6-volume history, *Our Times*, ranks McGuffey up with Washington and Lincoln in influence. And a wonderful influence it was. Do your children deserve less?

Startling call from eminent professor of English

"Let's bring back McGuffey's Reader — **to College**" is how Carl Bode, University of Maryland, titled his article in **The Chronicle of Higher Education**. Wrote Bode: "I guarantee that regular doses of McGuffey will brighten their eyes and bring roses to their cheeks... teach them to concentrate on the printed page... give them some of the memorable poetry and prose of our Anglo-American inheritance... make them better men and women, not to mention better-spoken men and women."

How to get this $79.95 slipcased set for ONLY $9.95!

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 4 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-95% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 OAKLAND AVENUE • HARRISON, NY 10528

I enclose $9.95. Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, at no additional cost, the Original McGuffey Readers in the 7-volume slipcased set PLUS my free copy of ***McGuffey and His Readers***. I agree to buy 4 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 2 years. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

☐ I don't care to join the Club but I'm enclosing $79.95 for the McGuffey set plus the free book. I may return the set in 30 days for full refund if not delighted.

NR-99

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSICS ON CASSETTES

ALSO AVAILABLE ON STEREO RECORDS

BACH

331488-391482. Bach: Brandenberg Concertos, 1 to 6 (complete)—Kapp, Philharmonia Virtuosi of New York (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

336578-396572. Bach: Flute Sonatas—Rampal, Pinnock (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343251. Bach: Goldberg Variations—Glenn Gould (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

330647. Bach: Unaccompanied Cello Suites 1, 2—performed by Yo-Yo Ma (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

326983. Bach: Organ Masterpieces—*Toccata & Fugue in D Minor*, etc. A. Newman (Sine Qua Non)

343681. Bach: Sonatas for Viola Da Gamba & Harpsichord—Yo-Yo Ma, cello; Ken Cooper, harpsichord (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

339382. Bach: Two-Part & Three-Part Inventions—played by pianist Andras Schiff (*Digital*—London)

331470-391474. Bach: Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 1—Anthony Newman, harpsichord (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

BEETHOVEN

326090. Beethoven: Cello Sonatas 4 & 5—Yo-Yo Ma, cello; Emanuel Ax, piano (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

338004-398008. Beethoven Piano Sonatas—Moonlight, Appassionata, Tempest, 3 more. A. Brendel (Counts as 2—Vox Cum Laude)

335075. Beethoven: Overtures—Coriolan, Egmont, Fidelio, Lenore, etc. Tennstedt, London Phil. (*Digital*—Angel)

332122. Beethoven: String Quartet in A Minor, Op. 132—Fitzwilliam Quartet (*Digital*—London)

334342. Beethoven: Septet For Strings And Winds, Op. 20—Boston Symph. Chamber Players (*Nonesuch Silver Series*)

232496. Beethoven: Symphony No. 3 (Eroica)—Bernstein and New York Philharmonic (Columbia)

321570. Beethoven: Symphony No. 5; Schubert: Symph. No. 8 (Unfinished)—Maazel, Vienna Philhar. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331108. Beethoven: Symphony No. 7—Tilson Thomas, English Chamber Orch. (CBS Masterworks)

252874. Beethoven: Symphony No. 9 (Choral)—Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orch. (Columbia)

342667. Beethoven: Piano Concertos No. 3 & 4—Perahia; Haitink, Amsterdam Concertgebouw (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

325654-395657. Beethoven: Piano Concertos No. 1 & 5 (Emperor)—Brendel, piano; Boettcher, Mehta cond. (Counts as 2—Vox)

327221. Beethoven: Violin Concerto—Menuhin: Masur, Leipzig Gewandhaus (*Digital*—Angel)

BRAHMS

341107. Brahms: Double Concerto—Menuhin; Tortelier; Berglund, London Phil. (*Digital*—Angel)

334243. Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 1—Weissenberg, Muti, Philadelphia Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

340588. Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 2—Vladimir Ashkenazy; Haitink, Vienna Phil. (*Digital*—London)

332668. Brahms: Symphony No. 1—Tennstedt and London Philharmonic Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

328039. Brahms: Symphony No. 3; Haydn Variations—Mehta, N.Y. Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341198. Brahms: String Quartets Nos. 1 & 3—The Tokyo String Quartet (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

337774. Brahms & Mozart Clarinet Quintets—Michele Zukovsky and Sequoia String Quartet (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

DEBUSSY

340638-390633. Debussy: Preludes, Books I, II; etc. Youri Egorov (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

335679. Debussy: La Mer; Nocturnes—Andre Previn, cond. London Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

296830. Debussy & Ravel String Quartets—Tokyo String Quartet (Columbia)

304931. Debussy: Images For Orchestra; Prelude To An Afternoon Of A Faun—Previn, London Symph. (*Digital*—Angel)

HAYDN

341123-391128. Haydn: Concertos For Flute & Oboe—Rampal; Pierlot; Rolla cond. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341214. Haydn: Symphony No. 100 (Military), **No. 104** (London)—Hogwood and Acad. of Ancient Music (*Digital*—L'Oiseau-Lyre)

332569. Haydn: Symphony No. 94 (Surprise), **No. 100** (Military)—Solti, London Phil. (*Digital*—London)

MAHLER

334508. Mahler: Symphony No. 1 (Titan)—Muti cond. Philadelphia Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

329094-399097. Mahler: Symphony No. 2 (Resurrection)—Lorin Maazel, Vienna Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

317685. Mahler: Symphony No. 4—Ameling (soprano); Previn and the Pittsburgh Symphony Orch. (Angel)

325357. Mahler: Das Lied von der Erde—soloists, New York Philharmonic under Bruno Walter (Masterworks Portrait)

MENDELSSOHN

318824. Mendelssohn: Symphony No. 4 (Italian); **Schumann: Symphony No. 4**—Tennstedt, Berlin Phil. (*Digital*—Angel)

330142. Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto; Saint-Saens: Concerto No. 3—Cho-Liang Lin, violinist; Thomas, Philharmonia Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

332056. Mendelssohn: A Midsummer Night's Dream; etc.—Zinman, Rochester Philharmonic (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

MOZART

337782. Mozart: Divertimento, K. 563—Kremer; Kashkashian; Yo-Yo Ma (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

294264. Mozart: Piano Concerto No. 21 (Elvira Madigan) and **No. 17**—Ashkenazy plays, conducts Philharmonia Or. (London)

328740. Mozart: Piano Concerto 26 (Coronation); **Rondos**—Murray Perahia, English Chamber Orchestra (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341628-391623. Mozart: Sonatas For Fortepiano & Violin, Vol. 3—Bilson and Luca (Counts as 2—*Digital*—*Nonesuch*)

339366. Mozart: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik; more. Hogwood, Acad. Ancient Music (*Digital* L'Oiseau-Lyre)

341974. Mozart: Music For Wind Quintet—played by Ensemble Wien-Berlin (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

321224. Mozart: Overtures—Don Giovanni, Cosi fan tutte; etc. Marriner, Acad. St. Martin (*Digital*—Angel)

338723. Mozart: Requiem—Hogwood cond. soloists, chorus, Acad. of Ancient Music (*Digital* L'Oiseau-Lyre)

340596. Mozart: Sonata, K. 448; Schubert: Fantasia Radu Lupu, Murray Perahia (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

314955. Mozart: Symphonies No. 40 & 41 (Jupiter)—George Szell conducts the Cleveland Orchestra (CBS Great Performances)

RACHMANINOFF

334540. Rachmaninoff: Piano Concerto No. 2; Rhapsody On A Theme Of Paganini—Cecile Licad; Abbado, Chicago Symph. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

334565. Rachmaninoff: Symphony No. 2 (complete version)—Simon Rattle and Los Angeles Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

SCHUBERT

343707. Schubert: The Impromptus, Op. 90 & 142—Murray Perahia, piano (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

325092. Schubert: Sonata in B Flat; etc.—Alicia de Larrocha (*Digital*—London)

339358. Schubert: Trout Quintet—Andras Schiff, piano; Alois Posch; Hagen Quartet (*Digital*—London)

TCHAIKOVSKY

308874. Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto No. 1—Gavrilov; Kitaenko cond. (Columbia/Melodiya)

329169. Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 4—Lorin Maazel, Cleveland Orch. (CBS Masterworks)

343350. Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 5; Voyevode—Abbado, Chicago Sym. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

304352-394353. Tchaikovsky: The Nutcracker—Davis, Toronto Symphony (Counts as 2—Columbia)

342329. Bartok: Miraculous Mandarin (complete ballet) **Music For Strings, Percussion & Celesta**—Dorati, Detroit Sym. (*Digital*—London)

342337. Bartok: Piano Concerto No. 1; Sonata For 2 Pianos & Percussion—Ashkenazy; Solti, London Phil. (*Digital*—London)

343145. Bolling: Original Ragtime—the composer at the piano (CBS)

263293. Bolling: Suite For Flute & Jazz Piano—Jean-Pierre Rampal and Claude Bolling perform in this all-time best-seller (Columbia)

324533. Respighi: Feste Romane; Pines & Fountain Of Rome—Dutoit, Orch. de Montreal (*Digital*—London)

333450. Shostakovich: Symphony No. 8—Haitink Amsterdam Concertgebouw (*Digital*—London)

326405. Stravinsky: The Firebird (complete ballet)—Christoph von Dohnanyi and the Vienna Philharmonic (*Digital*—London)

338244. Stravinsky: Rite Of Spring; Symphonies Of Wind Instruments—Dutoit, Montreal Symphony Orch. (*Digital*—London)

342154. Tchaikovsky: Romeo & Juliet; Francesca da Rimini—R. Chailly and the Cleveland Orchestra (*Digital*—London)

334680. Tchaikovsky: Suites From "Swan Lake" and "Sleeping Beauty"—Muti and the Philadelphia Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

336461. Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto; Serenade—Pinchas Zukerman; Zubin Mehta, Israel Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

BAROQUE

323543. Handel: Royal Fireworks Music; Oboe Concertos 1-3—Karl Munchinger, Stuttgart Chamber Orch. (*Digital*—London)

329615. Handel: Water Music. Malgorie, La Grande Ecurie & la Chambre duRoy (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

339663. Pachelbel: Kanon—also works by Albinoni, Bach, Boccherini, others. Karl Munchinger and the Stuttgart Chamber Orch. (*Digital*—London)

343715. Vivaldi: Four Seasons—Lorin Maazel conducts soloists from the French National Orchestra (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

332544. Vivaldi: 6 Flute Concerti, Op. 10—Rampal; Scimone, I Solisti Veneti (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

MODERN

340216. Adams, John: Harmonielehre—Edo de Waart, San Francisco Sym. (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

326439. Copland: Rodeo; Dance Symphony; El Salon Mexico; Fanfare for Common Man—Dorati, Detroit Sym. (*Digital*—London)

240473. Copland: Appalachian Spring (complete)—Copland and London Symphony (Columbia)

326488. Gershwin: Porgy & Bess Suite; Second Rhapsody; Cuban Overture—Previn, London Symph. (*Digital*—Angel)

330886. Grofe: Grand Canyon Suite; Mississippi Suite—Batiz, Royal Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

340182. Glass, Philip: Mishima—original music composed for the film (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

319004. Glass, Philip: The Photographer—"Some of his best music to date"—*Time* (CBS)

326272. Holst: The Planets—Bernstein, New York Phil. (CBS Great Performances)

342022. Ravel: Gaspard de la Nuit; Pavane Pour Une Infante Defunte; others—Vladimir Ashkenazy at the piano (*Digital*—London)

318451. Ravel: Bolero; Pavane; Daphnis Et Chloe (Suite No. 2)—Andre Previn, London Symphony (Angel)

331447. Ravel: Ma Mere L'Oye (Mother Goose); etc.—Dutoit, Montreal Sym. (*Digital*—London)

340190. Reich: The Desert Music—M. Tilson Thomas, members of the Brooklyn Phil. (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

ROMANTICS

335547. Berlioz: Symphoni Fantastique—Barenboim cond. Berlin Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331595. Bizet: Carmen Suite; L'Arlesienne Suites 1, 2—Ozawa, Orch. National (*Digital*—Angel)

333518. Bruckner: Symphony No. 7—Chailly, RSO Berlin (*Digital*—London)

339374. Chopin: Piano Concerto No. 2; Schumann: Piano Concerto—Schiff; Dorati, Concertgebouw (*Digital*—London)

329144. Chopin: Waltzes, Mazurkas, Polonaises—Ivan Moravec, piano (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

343152-393157. Chopin: Nocturnes—Abbey Simon at the piano (Counts as 2—Vox Cum Laude)

326454. Dvorak: Cello Concerto; Bruch: Kol Nidrei—Harrell, cello; Ashkenazy cond. (*Digital*—London)

333526-393520. Dvorak: Slavonic Dances; etc. Dorati, Royal Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—London)

325183. Dvorak: Symphony No. 9 (New World)—Solti, Chicago Symph. Orch. (*Digital*—London)

333575. Elgar: Enigma Variations; Pomp And Circumstances Marches—A. Davis, Philharmonia Or. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

336990. Grieg: Peer Gynt (Incidental Music)—Lucia Popp; Marriner, Academy St. Martin (*Digital*—Angel)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

340257. Liszt: Piano Concertos Nos. 1 & 2—Solet; Zinman, Rochester Phil. (Vox Cum Laude)

321190. Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsodies 1 & 4; more Doskovsky, Philharmonia Hungarica (Angel)

332114. Mussorgsky: Pictures At An Exhibition; etc. Ashkenazy conducts his orchestration of "Pictures" *(Digital—London)*

338228. Offenbach: Gaite Parisienne; Gounod: "Faust" Ballet Music—Dutoit, Orch. symphonique Montreal *(Digital—London)*

334771. Sibelius: Symphonies No. 4 and **7**—Berglund, Helsinki Philharmonic Or. *(Digital—Angel)*

225888. Smetana: Moldau, Bartered Bride Overture, Dances; etc. Bernstein, NY. Phil. (Columbia)

310870-390872. Johann Strauss' Greatest Waltzes—*Blue Danube,* others. Ormandy, Szell, Bernstein (Counts as 2—Columbia)

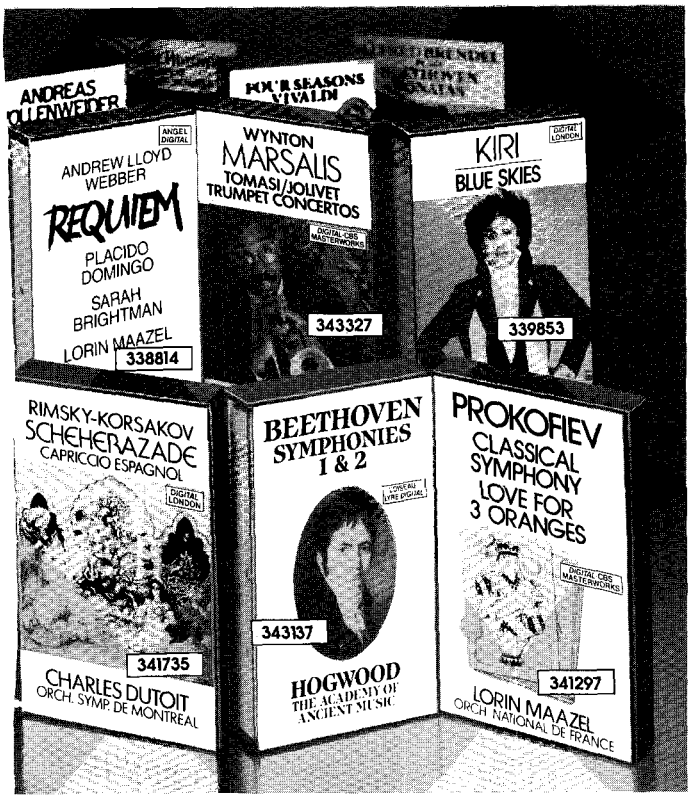
341610. Strauss, Richard: Der Rosenkavalier Suite; Die Frau Ohne Schatten—Dorati, Detroit Symphony Orch. *(Digital—London)*

325886. Liona Boyd—Live In Tokyo. Works by Dowland, Soler, Falla, etc. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

334482. Calliope • Dances—A Renaissance Revel. 16th & 17th century music by Praetorius, Henry VIII, etc. *(Digital—Nonesuch)*

336149. Canadian Brass—Live! Works by Tchaikovsky, Mozart, Pachelbel, others *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

334276. Canadian Brass & Berlin Phil. Brass—Brass In Berlin. Bach, Pachelbel, Gabrieli, etc. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*



342428. Rossini: Overtures—*Semiramide, Barber of Seville,* others. Riccardo Chailly and National Philharmonic *(Digital—London)*

331082. Saint-Saens: Symphony No. 3 (Organ)—Hurford; Dutoit, Montreal Sym. *(Digital—London)*

325100. Saint-Saens: Carnival of the Animals; etc.—Philip Jones Brass Ensemble *(Digital—London)*

323147. Wagner: Orchestral Music from "The Ring"—Sir Georg Solti, Chicago Sym. *(Digital—London)*

310086. Wagner: Overtures—*Flying Dutchman, Rienzi,* etc. Maazel, Philharmonia Orch. (Columbia)

VIRTUOSO!

328013. Nancy Allen—virtuoso harpist in music by Ravel and Debussy. *(Digital—Angel)*

246843. Vladimir Horowitz—New Recordings Of Chopin. (Columbia)

330159. Bob James—Rameau. The jazz artist performs Rameau's music on synthesizers. Superb! *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

326595. Igor Kipnis—Music For The Kings Of France. Harpsichord suites by Marchand, Couperin (Nonesuch Silver Series)

339408. Hubert Laws/Chick Corea/Quincy Jones. Blanchard New Earth Sonata; etc. (CBS Masterworks)

331314. Katia & Marielle Labeque Play Gershwin. Also included: Grainger's *Fantasy On Porgy & Bess (Digital—Angel)*

343624. Wynton Marsalis Plays Trumpet Concertos. Haydn, Hummel, L. Mozart. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

329607. Wynton Marsalis—Purcell, Handel, Torelli, etc. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

331959-391953. Mormon Tabernacle Choir-Great Choruses of Bach and Handel. (Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

326611. Christopher Parkening—Sacred Music For The Guitar. Mozart, Bach, etc. *(Digital—Angel)*

338178. Christopher Parkening—A Bach Celebration. Arrangements for solo guitar and chamber orchestra *(Digital—Angel)*

343186. Anthony & Joseph Paratore—Opera Festival For Four Hands. Music by Rossini, Suppe, Mozart, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

280610. Jean-Pierre Rampal—Greatest Hits. Handel's *Largo;* Gounod's *Ave Maria,* etc. (Columbia)

335695. Fascinatin' Rampal—Jean-Pierre Rampal Plays Gershwin. (CBS)

326470. Joshua Rifkin Plays Digital Ragtime. Scott Joplin's *The Entertainer, Maple Leaf Rag,* etc. (Angel)

331132. Andres Segovia—Espana. Works by Granados, Albeniz, Rodrigo, etc. (MCA)

333112. Andreas Vollenweider—White Winds. The inventive harpist's latest *(Digital—CBS)*

343673. Andre Watts—Live In Tokyo. Music by Brahms, Haydn, Ravel, etc. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

334763. John Williams—Bach, Handel, Marcello Concertos *arr. for guitar (Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

VOCAL AND ORCHESTRAL COLLECTIONS

331942. The Academy—By Request. Marriner and Academy of St. Martin. Bach, etc. *(Digital—Angel)*

308890-398891. Bernstein Conducts World's Greatest Marches. (Counts as 2—Columbia)

328146. Willi Boskovsky cond. Symphonic Waltzes by R. Strauss, Tchaikovsky, Weber, etc. *(Digital—Angel)*

334839. Maria Callas—Rossini & Donizetti Arias. From *William Tell; L'Elisir D'Amore;* etc. (Angel)

341602. Jose Carreras—French Opera Arias. Arias from *Le Cid, Faust, Carmen,* etc. *(Digital—Angel)*

292003-392001. Curtain Raisers—The World's Favorite Overtures. Szell, Bernstein, Ormandy, etc. (Counts as 2—Columbia)

338756. Ghena Dimitrova—Opera Arias. *Aida, Macbeth, Attila,* etc. *(Digital—Angel)*

337279. Placido Domingo—Save Your Nights For Me. *Love Came For Me; Maria;* etc. (CBS)

326553. Placido Domingo—Great Love Scenes. Scotto, Te Kanawa, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

342402-392407. Gilbert & Sullivan—The Mikado. Sargent, Glyndebourne Festival (Counts as 2—*Digitally remastered*—Angel)

341990. Eva Marton Sings Highlights from Strauss' "Salome"; 4 Last Songs. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

337444. Eugene Ormandy—In Memoriam. Barber's *Adagio for Strings;* works by Sibelius, R. Strauss *(Digital—Angel)*

327551. Luciano Pavarotti—Mamma. Popular Italian songs arranged by Henry Mancini *(Digital—London)*

303453-393454. Pavarotti's Greatest Hits. 26 favorites by Verdi, Puccini, Bizet, etc. (Counts as 2—London)

332106. Lucia Popp Sings Mozart Opera Arias. Slatkin, Munich Radio Orch. *(Digital—Angel)*

339242. Puccini Heroines. Eva Marton, Renata Scotto, Katia Ricciarelli, others (CBS Masterworks)

335455. Portrait of Frederica Von Stade. Rossini, Mozart, Brahms, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

343269. Kiri Te Kanawa—Verdi and Puccini Arias. Pritchard, London Phil. *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

324772. Kiri Te Kanawa—Songs of the Auvergne, Vol. 1—Canteloube's songs *(Digital—London)*

341669-391664. Themes From Masterpiece Theatre Vols. 1 & 2 (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Sine Qua Non)

321844-391847. Verdi: La Traviata. Movie soundtrack with Domingo, Stratas, etc. (Counts as 2—Elektra)

328716-398719. Verdi: Requiem. Caballe, Berini, Domingo, Plishka; Mehta, cond. *(Digital*—Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

340562. Waverly Consort—Renaissance Favorites. Gibbons, Morley, Des Prez *(Digital—CBS Masterworks)*

ANY 11 FOR $1.00

plus shipping and handling

if you join the Club now and agree to buy 8 more selections (at regular Club prices) during the coming 3 years

Here's a wonderful opportunity to start or add to your collection of the world's greatest music—on easy-to-play, carefree cassettes! As a new member of the Club's Classical Division, you get any 11 cassettes for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. *(Or take 11 selections on stereo records.)* In exchange, you agree to buy just 8 more selections in the next three years, at regular Club prices (which currently are $7.98 to $11.98, plus shipping and handling; some multi-unit sets and special recordings may be somewhat higher).

How the Club works: every four weeks (13 times a year) you'll receive our Music Magazine. It describes the "Classical Selection of the Month" *plus* scores of classical releases, as well as selections from other fields of music. In addition, up to six times a year you may receive offers of Special Selections, usually at a discount off regular Club prices, for a total of up to 19 buying opportunities.

There is no obligation to accept the "Selection of the Month"—you order *only* the recordings you want *when you want them!* A special response card will be enclosed with each Magazine—mail it by the date specified to order or reject any selection. And if you want *only* the "Selection of the Month," do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. You'll have at least ten days in which to make your decision—if you ever have less time than that, just return the Selection at our expense. And you may cancel membership anytime after buying 8 selections, or continue under our "buy one—get one free" money-saving bonus plan.

10-Day Free Trial: we'll send details of the Club's operation with your introductory shipment. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return everything within 10 days—your membership will be canceled and you will owe nothing.

Special Start-Your-Membership-Now Offer: you may also choose your first selection now—and we'll send it to you for at least 60% off regular Club prices (only $2.99). This discount purchase reduces your membership obligation immediately—you then need buy just 7 more (instead of 8) in 3 years. Just check box in application and fill in the number of your first selection.

All applications subject to review; Columbia House reserves the right to reject any application.

NOTE: selections with two numbers are 2-record sets or double-length tapes. Each of these "double selections" counts as 2—so write in both numbers.

© 1986 Columbia House

Columbia Record & Tape Club
CLASSICAL DIVISION, Terre Haute, IN 47811

Please accept my membership application under the terms outlined in this advertisement. Send me the 11 classical selections listed here for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. I agree to buy eight more selections (at regular Club prices) in the coming three years—and may cancel membership at any time after doing so.

Send my selections in this type of recording (check one):
☐ TAPE CASSETTES ☐ STEREO RECORDS

☐ Mr.
☐ Mrs. _____
☐ Miss *Print First Name* *Initial* *Last Name*

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Do you have a VCR? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No 717/F86
Do you have a credit card? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ Also send my first selection for at least a 60% discount for which I will be billed an additional $2.99. I then need buy only 7 more (instead of 8) at regular Club prices, in the coming 3 years.

This offer is not available in APO, FPO, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico; please write for details of alternative offer.

SEND ME THESE 11 SELECTIONS

☑ CLASSICAL

M3Y/ME M3Z/MD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

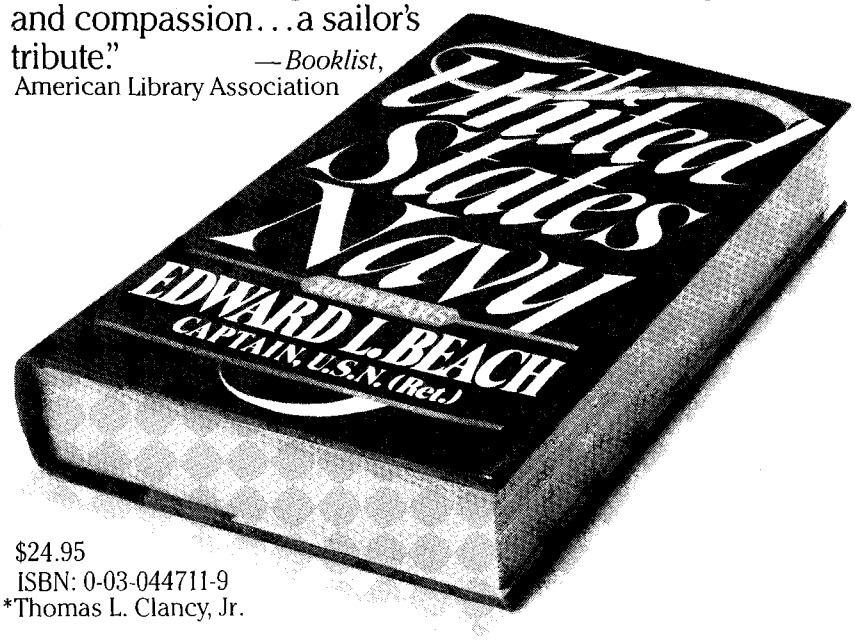
"The best book yet from the finest naval author of this generation."*

From the pen of Edward L. Beach, celebrated Navy officer, historian, and novelist, comes a colorful, myth-shattering history of the navy as only an affectionate insider could write it.

As much an account of how new technologies affected ship-building, weaponry, and naval tactics as a powerful narrative of war and battles, *The United States Navy: 200 Years* is "alive with real flesh-and-blood naval officers, the politicians who were their civil superiors, and the bluejackets who manned the ships....[a] superb naval history....barnacles and all."

—Captain Paul B. Ryan, U.S.N. (Ret.)

"[Beach's] crowning achievement....Full of insight, wit, and compassion...a sailor's tribute." —*Booklist*, American Library Association



$24.95
ISBN: 0-03-044711-9
*Thomas L. Clancy, Jr.

Henry Holt and Company
521 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10175

that, as it does in comparable situations (the garment industry, trucking, etc.), works to the advantage of the lowest (most criminal) common denominator.

I do not question the anti-payola motives of crusaders like Senator Gore, but it is no accident that—given the built-in music-biz market headquartered in Nashville—Tennessee is one of the major distribution points on the Florida/New York interstate cocaine route.

Legal payola, alas, only makes sense in the context of legal narcotics.

Tom Garlock
Knoxville, Tenn.

Beyond the Melting Pot

Regarding immigration reform and Samuel T. Francis's book review, "A Nation of Numbers" [April 25]: America is being driven to the level of a multinational state. This is not happening because of the most recent wave of immigration but because of the increasing amount of government intervention in American society. As Mr. Francis points out, "civil-rights [*sic*] legislation, equal-opportunity codes, and court decisions have weakened the ability of the private sector to induce immigrants to conform to American standards." The government has artificially lowered the level of assimilation and has in fact made assimilation unnecessary. This has attracted many to this country who don't share American ideals and who would probably not be here were it not for the free ride they are receiving. When the market was allowed to work freely a level of assimilation was set that was acceptable to all. America, because of this, enjoyed an influx of diverse peoples who helped transform this nation into a world power.

The examples of multinational states that Mr. Francis cites—the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires, as well as India, Iran, and the USSR—were and are failures precisely because they were oppressive. America prospered because people were allowed to be free and to cooperate voluntarily. The trouble began when Uncle Sam got into the act. Economically, politically, and culturally we would be better off if the government just left us alone.

Thomas E. Cleary
Omaha, Neb.

People Power

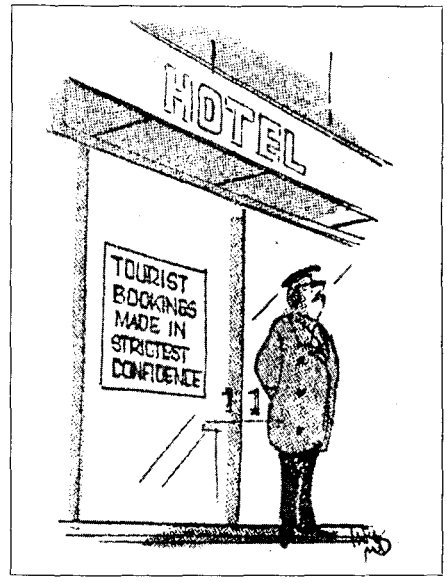
I believe that Chernobyl ["The Week," May 23] truly signifies a unique point in history. This is the first time the Soviet Union has caused massive death and destruction by *accident*.

Chris Hekimian
Milwaukee, Wis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

Sen. **George Mitchell** (D., Me.) is delighted by latest senatorial polls. "There's no question in my mind," says Mitchell, chairman of Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, "that we're going to win the Senate." He claims polls show Democrats leading in six states: Florida, **Paula Hawkins**, no surprise there, has trailed all along; North Carolina, Democrat **Terry Sanford**, showing surprising strength after bruising GOP primary, leads Rep. **James Broyhill**, the winner over **Jesse Helms**'s candidate, **David Funderburk**; Maryland, where Democratic Rep. **Barbara Mikulski** is deemed likely winner against any Republican; Nevada, where Democratic Rep. **Harry Reid** unexpectedly outpolled former Rep. **Jim Santini**; South Dakota, where incumbent Republican **James Abdnor** surprised everyone by trouncing he gave Gov. **William Janklow** in late-May primary, but lags behind Democratic Rep. **Thomas Daschle**; and Idaho, where Sen. **Steve Symms**, already beleaguered, is now fighting bum rap (a nine-year-old news photo) on reputed friendship with Libya's Col. **Muammar Qaddafi**. . . . However, in California, victorious GOP contender Rep. **Ed Zschau** (he beat a cast of thousands) is given good chance of retiring Democratic Sen. **Alan Cranston**. Los Angeles political consultant **David Chagall** feels expected big voter turnout this fall (many Californians want to oust anti capital punishment Chief Justice **Rose Bird**) will help Zschau. Zschau, who holds former Rep. **Pete McCloskey**'s House seat (and who emulates his politics), will be "a formidable opponent" to Cranston, says pollster **Mervin Field**. . . . In Oklahoma, early GOP fears about re-election of Sen. **Don Nickles** laid to rest by latest **Bailey** poll showing Nickles with a 55 to 32 per cent lead over probable opponent, Rep. **Jim Jones**. . . . According to *New York Times*, Rep. **Richard Shelby**, who won Alabama Democratic primary last week against **Jim Allen**, son of former senator, is running even with Republican Sen. **Jeremiah Denton**. . . . Interesting political note: Of 18 Republican senators running for re-election, 14 voted to override presidential veto on Saudi arms sale. The four who went with **Ronald Reagan** were: Sens. **Bob Dole**, **Jake Garn**, **Dan Quayle**, and Jeremiah Denton.



Holland, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rotheo

Outcome of 1986 battle over Senate could affect Democratic presidential picture in '88, points out **Steven B. Roberts**, astute *New York Times* congressional reporter. Should the Democrats win, Sen. **Joseph Biden** (Del.) would probably head Judiciary Committee. Sen. **Sam Nunn** (Ga.), Armed Services, and Sen. **Bill Bradley** (N.J.) would be dealt much larger role on Finance. All are at starting gate as Democrats search for new faces to replace old-guard liberals. . . . On Republican side latest polls (ABC News/*Washington Post*, Yankelovich/*Time*) show **George Bush** still flying high: Bush (51, 58); Dole (11, 12); **Howard Baker** (8, 14); **Pat Robertson** (5, 6); **Jack Kemp** (4, 5); **Jeane Kirkpatrick** (4, 5); **Paul Laxalt** (1, 2). . . . Despite which, much of the talk is of low-flying Laxalt. It goes like this: Should front-runner Bush stumble, Laxalt, "the President's best friend," could undercut Bush's strategy by running as the anointed heir to President Reagan. If, as rumored, **Lyn Nofziger** gravitates toward Laxalt it could create the impression that Reagan's imprimatur is on Laxalt (*Christian Science Monitor*). **Ed Rollins** might also join Laxalt (*Newsweek*). And maybe even former Transportation Secretary **Drew Lewis** (**Kevin Phillips**). . . . Former Delaware Gov. **Pierre du Pont IV** has set up a presidential campaign committee, the first, may announce in September, hopes to raise $6 million before '88 primaries. "I'm in a wonderful position," says du Pont. "I'm underrated, I'm unknown, and I have nowhere to go but up.

Right Notes: Young Conservative Foundation is cross with **Paul Weyrich** for telling *New York Times* that Sen. Jesse Helms "is not the anti-establishment activist he used to be." YCF points to Helms's heroic attempt to prevent forced repatriation of would-be Soviet seaman defector **Miroslav Medvid** as example of Helms's activism. . . . Heritage has countered anti-Reagan barrage by former Democratic Administration aides **Robert McNamara**, **Paul Warnke**, **Gerard Smith** over proposed ditching of SALT II, with pamphlet on issue entitled "SALT II, Rest in Peace," essays by **Colin Gray**, **James Hackett**, **Seymour Weiss**, **William Van Cleave**. . . . **Ronald F. Docksai**, majority staff director of Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, has been nominated Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, by President Reagan, a major gain for conservatives and for HHS. Docksai has also worked as aide to Sen. **Orrin Hatch** and Rep. **Robert Dornan**.

LONG TIME NO SEE: Sen. **Max Baucus** (D., Mont.), in complimenting Senate Finance Committee on tax bill, commented that Congress had not written a new tax code since 1954, when "**Marilyn Monroe** and **Joe DiMaggio** were still married."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ Who is Kurt Waldheim going to endorse?

☐ The Senate Judiciary Committee has decided to give Reagan nominees to the federal courts a hard time, starting with Jefferson B. Sessions and Daniel A. Manion. Sessions was quashed because of some rude remarks he was found to have made; Manion is being attacked for, among other things, his poor spelling. All of a sudden it's occurred to the Democrats that, as Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware puts it, "the nation has a right to expect more than minimum qualifications and probable fitness from its federal judges." The alleged higher standards really amount to a double standard. "I think you are a decent and honorable man," Biden told Manion, "but I do not think I can vote for you because of your political views." Which seems to be the relevant standard.

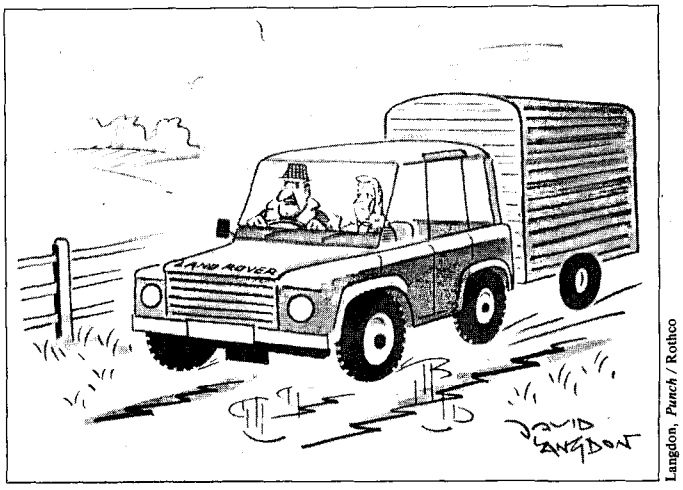
☐ Every day brings a new chapter in Lyndon LaRouche's brilliant career. The bugso philosopher refuses to pay a $202,000 libel judgment he lost to NBC-TV, on the grounds that he has no income, and doesn't know who pays his bills. Meanwhile, in Orange County, California, a LaRouchie won another Democratic primary, this time for a hopeless congressional race against a seven-term Republican incumbent. Behind LaRouche's assault on the Democratic Party, and his occasional successes, lies an interesting point: Like viruses, LaRouche and other kooks attack weak cells in the body politic. These days, that means the Democratic Party (the GOP is a healthy, going concern). As for LaRouche's expenses, *we* know they're paid by the Queen of England and the Hong Kong-Shanghai Bank; but don't tell anyone.

☐ The Center for Media and Public Affairs has put together some telling new statistics concerning media coverage of nuclear safety. It seems that a few discrepancies exist between the energy experts cited by the networks and major newsmagazines, and 679 energy scientists and engineers selected randomly from *Who's Who*. Among the findings: Three out of four of the random group endorse "rapid nuclear development" and would be willing to live near a reactor; five out of six find the present risks of reactors acceptable, and two out of three are "very confident" that current safety problems can be solved. In contrast, the ratio of anti- to pro-nuclear-power stories in the media analyzed is two to one. Sixty per cent of all judgments about safety issues are negative, and of the nuclear experts quoted, critics outnumber supporters by more than two to one in magazines, five to one on television. Business as usual. And don't expect much improvement: The study predates Chernobyl.

☐ A *Wall Street Journal* article and a column by our Jeff Hart have noted that the credit for the Packwood tax reform really belongs to Senator Bradley. Nobody as yet has asked how a Democrat from New Jersey caught the supply-side fever. The answer is, by squeaking an unexpectedly narrow victory over a supply-sider back when. Jeff Bell, take a bow.

☐ Two top Reagan speechwriters, Ben Elliott and Peggy Noonan, have left the White House in an internal dispute over policy. Both are strong Reaganites who have written some of the President's most elegant lines; they are said to feel that lieutenants of chief of staff Don Regan have hamhandedly reduced their copy to sawdust, de-Reaganizing it. Evans and Novak also report that Regan is leaning hard on Communications Director Pat Buchanan, who is nonetheless determined to stick it out for the country's sake.

☐ The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) was passed in 1970 to facilitate federal prosecution of organized crime. It has been



Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

"Haven't been so damn angry since we gave up India."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enormously effective in putting mob members behind bars. But it also has become part of the litigation explosion. Lawyers and judges have used RICO's vague wording and lucrative damage awards in cases ranging from divorce proceedings to a synagogue power struggle. RICO is a good law gone bad. It should be tidied up but not taken off the books.

☐ Mexico's ruling PRI faces a crisis in Chihuahua where, win or lose, it stands to lose. The opposition National Action Party (PAN) is given an outside chance of wresting control of the populous northern state of Chihuahua from the ruling party on July 6, but since no opposition party has ever been permitted to win a state election in Mexico in the last 56 years, don't bet a tumbling peso on 1986 as the year Mexico Goes Straight. In state elections in Sonora and Nuevo León last year the government had to resort to such open fraud and chicanery to skew the count its way that both the local and international press will be monitoring this one closely. This is a moment long awaited, but now regarded with some trepidation. Even critics of the corrupt and bloated PRI fear that a defeat anywhere could bring down the intricate scaffolding that for better or worse has held Mexico together for half a century. Is the PRI, whose sins run as deep as its oil reserves, worse than the chaos that might replace it? Maybe, maybe not.

☐ Jonas Savimbi has written an astonishing defense of freedom in Africa, not merely in throwing out the Soviets and their Cuban mercenaries, but in establishing free markets (*Wall Street Journal*, June 2). A market system, he insists, is the only answer to the problems of postcolonial Africa, so often marked by one-party (and usually pro-Soviet) politics. By his analysis, agriculture will long remain the dominant feature of the Angolan economy, and "my call for a completely free market in agriculture comes from watching the horrifying experiences of neighboring African states that have attempted to fix prices and command farmers to move to areas where the government wants the crop grown. Left alone, untaxed and unregulated, the bountiful Angolan cropland will bring forth abundance. . . ." Please, Lord, grant this man immediate success so that he can come here as Secretary of Agriculture and free our own farm markets.

☐ Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan church is faring poorly. Its official newspaper and radio station have been shut down, its access to television stopped. More than 150 priests have been arrested, interrogated, and jailed. Seminarians have been drafted into the army. The police have seized an office of the archdiocese of Managua. Cardinal Obando y Bravo is forbidden to conduct public processions or say Mass outdoors. Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto calls the cardinal a "traitor" and "an accomplice in the assassination of our people." Until recently, Obando has been reluctant to denounce the regime. He has lately been making up for lost time, with powerful criticism of its attack on the church and civil liberties in general. Ironically, he has protested the "worker" state's suspension of the right to strike. The regime has set up its own "popular church," and d'Escoto is rumored to have suggested the "excommunication" of Obando himself. An aide to the cardinal complains that the American church isn't helping: "Some American bishops—in San Antonio and New Mexico, for example—support the Sandinistas. Some laymen in the American episcopal conference interfere with our communications with American bishops."

☐ The Vatican has let it be known that it believes there was a plot, a "Bulgarian connection," in the shooting of the Pope. A Jesuit journal that often reflects the Vatican's views, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, called the acquittal of six defendants in late March "a disconcerting sentence" and said that the attack appeared to be the result of "an international plot," guarded by "a wall of reticence and lies" that the court was unable to pierce. The Soviets are said to resent deeply the suspicion that they have done what they feel they had every right and provocation to do.

☐ Your tax dollars at work: A six-member delegation from the Soviet government building agency, GOSSTROY, will spend ten days visiting federal and commercial construction sites and meeting with General Services Administration officials, escorted by a team of U.S. building experts at the cost of $50,000. The Soviet agency will also benefit from a joint American/Soviet construction handbook, published for a mere half a million.

☐ In a thinly veiled attack on poorly veiled women, the speaker of the Iranian Parliament defended a crackdown by Iran's Revolutionary Guards against women who don't follow the letter of the Islamic dress code. The speaker told a prayer meeting in Teheran that "women have smaller brains than men"

Et Tu, Israel?

It could have been a time warp,
  With Reagan misconstrued
As Pharaoh building pyramids
  And Jews in servitude.
However, all's forgiven;
  The rug edge has been raised,
But while the servants sweep like mad,
  Some White House eyes look glazed.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE EMBARRASSING public flap over Mexico's role in funneling drugs into the United States exposed a long-simmering backstage feud between the U.S. Customs Service and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), forcing Ed Meese to straddle a fence between the Administration's diplomatic requirements and effective drug enforcement. Customs chief William von Raab touched off the political seismic shock when he told Congress that narcotics corruption was rife "up and down the ladder" of the Mexican government. Meese, whose Justice Department oversees Customs' longtime rival, the DEA, quickly disavowed von Raab's accusations with an official apology to the outraged Mexicans. It was a painful *mea culpa*, especially since the DEA has also complained about a lack of cooperation from Mexican officials, notably during the recent murder investigation of a key DEA informant by Mexican drug dealers.

A dissatisfied Jesse Helms meanwhile added fuel to the fire by siding with von Raab. The North Carolina senator claims that only half the truth about official sanctioning in Mexico of dope peddling has surfaced. The other half, states Helms, is "classified." So he ordered additional hearings to grill Administration and economic experts about the relationship between drug trafficking and Mexico's plummeting peso.

A new national-security measure, permitting an active military presence in drug enforcement, may improve the situation, but it's unlikely to halt the bitter infighting between Customs and the DEA.

For many Republican officeholders and operatives, easy decisions regarding '88 presidential preferences were scattered helter-skelter when Senator Paul Laxalt, retiring GOP senator from Nevada, recently got serious about a run for the Oval Office. "Lots of people are now on hold," says one moderate Republican senator. "He's done a lot of important things for a lot of important people, and he's still Ronald Reagan's best friend."

Laxalt's four strong points are: 1) Total access to longtime Reagan staffers at the White House and the RNC; 2) well-established personal relationships with nearly all key conservative fundraisers; 3) proximity to the Reagans that would absolutely prohibit their working against him; 4) nothing to lose—there's always the chance he might pull it off and, failing that, a presidential effort could only help Laxalt's attractiveness in terms of future business.

Projected delays in getting the space shuttle off the ground have caused executives who need telecommunications launchings within the next few years to wonder whether to stand in line for space technology, or look to the private sector.

"Things will be tight well into the 1990s," says a top Transportation official, observing that dozens of companies such as Federal Express, MCI, and 7-11 will need new satellites for telephone, computer data, and inventory programming.

The biggest roadblock to privatization is NASA officials who fear having their control of unmanned space vehicles slowly slip away. But after a demoralizing critique from the presidential *Challenger* commission, it's unlikely that NASA bigwigs will publicly oppose a helping hand from industry in easing their payload backlog.

—CATO

---

and therefore should be covered from head to foot, zap.

☐ In response to Soviet complaints, Theater of Nations, a drama festival scheduled for Baltimore in late June, scratched a stage production of *Animal Farm* from its official program. The play was rescheduled under different auspices, and the sponsors explained that the word "censorship" was being used "in a self-indulgent way." Maybe so, but we can't help feeling they're missing Orwell's point.

☐ Every time we nod off and start thinking that China is about ready to join the world, something comes along. The present example is the finding of tons of nuclear waste thought to be from an unreported accident in the 1960s, which had been dumped down a village well and covered with straw and "three bags of hand-mixed concrete."

☐ POX ROMANA DEPT.: Hostilities have erupted in the Eternal City over the presence of a McDonald's restaurant on the Piazza di Spagna, the complaint being that it is altogether too popular. The purists are chanting, "Stop the barbarians," a stricture not thought to require arresting known terrorists in Italian custody. The barbarians, not only tourists but *paninari* ("sandwich fanatics"), continue to swarm about the place, and more annoying, the owner is doing everything right. The McDonald's sign is "discreet," there are "no towering *arcus aurei*," and all historic-preservation laws have been complied with. The restaurant even cleans the whole piazza every day. Its supporters are rolling out the heavy guns: They want Clint Eastwood for mayor.

☐ A. Bartlett Giamatti has just accepted the post of president of the National League. This fellow is rising fast. He will be dealing with a better class of people.

☐ The scaffolding is down, the grounds are landscaped, the corrosion of a century buffed and repaired. Inside, the wire mesh that obscured the walls has been torn down, revealing a space of airy grace, a cathedral to liberty, a monument to hope. Outside, a new torch flames over the Manhattan skyline. E. Lawrence Bellante has served as the project manager for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty. He is also the son of two Italian immigrants. "My father used to tell me that all the people around him were crying

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with happiness when they saw the statue," Mr. Bellante says. The work of Mr. Bellante and thousands of others is finished; now we have a moment to pause, to celebrate. And on this Fourth of July, in the streets of America's largest city, sons and daughters of immigrants will throng to gawk at jugglers and street dancers, to eat Chinese food and Italian pizza, to see fireworks explode over Ellis Island, and to watch tall ships surge into the harbor—to honor a Lady.

The Murder of SALT II

SALT II is dead. European governments and popular media throughout the world have convened a kangaroo tribunal to try and pillory the murderer, whom they all agree is the United States (who else?). The immediate cause of their wrath is an announcement by the White House that the United States will not feel bound to comply with SALT II beyond the end of this year, unless the Soviet Union ceases its own flagrant violations of the treaty. This is what passes for moral outrage in our era.

The irony of it all is that the United States is currently strictly complying with the SALT II treaty, a fact one could hardly divine from most discussion of the subject. We are dotting every *i* and crossing every *t* of the treaty, even to the point of physically dismantling, rather than drydocking, Poseidon submarines, in order to stay within the numerical limits of the pact. The Soviet Union, by contrast, has violated the treaty on numerous points, both in letter and in spirit, and it has shown not the slightest willingness to correct, discuss, or even admit to, its violations. Who, then, murdered SALT II?

This logic does not seem to penetrate the supercilious self-righteousness of certain of our allies, who indulge in the pretense that the West can build national security on the foundation of paper treaties, regardless of whether the other side complies with them or not. In the past two weeks, more anger has been vented by the Europeans at the Reagan Administration for repudiating SALT II (while remaining in compliance), than they showed to the Soviets in more than four years of open violation. These illusions are politically popular in Europe, which is why the European politicians indulge them, leaving it to the U.S. to deal with realities.

The SALT II treaty was sorely flawed to begin with, which is why the U.S. Senate never ratified it. The Reagan Administration has known all along that it was flawed, but has nevertheless complied with it for five years in a bend-over-backward kind of effort to demonstrate its patience, restraint, and commitment to peace. The time has finally come—indeed, is long overdue—when unilateral compliance for the sake of a badly flawed treaty must cease. SALT II was dead well before the Reagan Administration publicly recognized that fact, having been murdered by Soviet noncompliance.

Our main criticism of the Administration, however, lies not principally in the long delay, but rather in the timidity of its approach to the issue. The White House let word of its planned noncompliance quietly slip out, as though it hoped no one would notice. It has since remained almost silent. What is called for, however, is an all-out political and media campaign aimed at focusing world attention on Soviet arms-control violations. Those violations are the only serious issue in any inquiry into the death of SALT II.

Pollard and Pelton

ESPIONAGE, like poverty, is always with us. And it would seem that men whose souls and pocketbooks are impoverished are particularly subject to being drawn into the game of selling their eyes and ears to foreign powers. An ugly thread of avarice runs through both the Pollard and the Pelton spy cases now making headlines across the country. Both of the accused sold their country's secrets for money: Pelton, an NSA official, to the Soviets; Pollard, a former Navy employee, to Israeli intelligence operatives. Neither apparently acted out of any higher motive.

The actions of both men are despicable, but of the two, Pelton committed far the worse offense, selling secrets to the Soviets that may have endangered the lives of U.S. seamen engaged in supersecret operations near or even in Soviet territorial waters. The lives of countrymen marketed away for a few pieces of silver.

Pollard, on the other hand, sold secrets to a close American ally. The damage to U.S. national security was correspondingly less, though that in no way lessens the sordidness of Pollard's action. What is most surprising in this case is not that the Israelis were caught spying on their closest ally and benefactor, but that they were caught at all. Israeli intelligence, traditionally the best in the world, must be getting soft.

No one likes to admit it, but allies spy on allies all the time, and with few compunctions. Much of what takes place goes on under the relatively acceptable umbrella of political and economic intelligence gathering, but we should not kid ourselves that military secrets are not sought after among friends. In a world of sovereign nation states, no government can be absolutely positive that its friends will always remain its friends; spying on allies is a form of security insurance that no prudent modern state is likely to forgo completely. There is not a single state within NATO that shares all its secrets with its allies.

The Pollard case should not be allowed to precipitate a crisis in U.S.-Israeli relations. Israel should be warned and watched more closely, but the fundamental strategic foundations of our alliance should be kept

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

firmly in place. As for Pollard and Pelton, they should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Containment for Real

MAX LERNER, one of the first columnists to predict Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory, and one of the shrewdest observers of his Administration, has taken a crack at defining the Reagan Doctrine. Not surprisingly, he has come up with something far more concrete and realistic than, say, Charles Krauthammer.

Lerner discerns seven elements. 1) Supporting freedom-fighters in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua; 2) fighting terrorists with deeds as well as words; 3) limiting Soviet diplomatic spying; 4) publicizing Soviet treaty violations; 5) proposing, and sticking with, SDI; 6) insisting on real arms reductions, as opposed to specious "arms-control" limits; and 7) refusing to lure Gorbachev to the summit table with prior concessions. "Peace," Lerner concludes his summary, "has a price tag. You have to strain and sweat for it, work for a strong economy, use your advanced defense technology, and keep the Western alliance firm."

The Reagan Doctrine, as Lerner limns it, is indeed a new thing: containment practiced by tenacious anti-Communists. The operative word is "tenacious." The original theorists of containment were anti-Communists, but they were also meliorists. George Kennan, at the time of his "Mr. X" article, looked forward to the day, not far distant, when the Soviets would become "bored" with the practices of the police state. In the event, it was the containers who became bored, with their own doctrine; in his *Memoirs*, Kennan compares his early, historic, anti-Soviet "long telegram," deprecatingly, to a primer of the DAR.

There are elements of the Reagan Doctrine that have been insufficiently pursued. The freedom-fighters get weapons, though not in decisive quantities. SDI proceeds under the rubric of research, without a commitment to deploy. But it is reasonable to hope for follow-through, since the Reaganites, unlike the Kennanoids, know that the Soviets haven't changed.

Onward, Christian Soldiers

THE FIENDISH Michigan caucus process lurched through its first phase at the end of May, as Republican hopefuls filed candidates for the position of precinct delegate. The actual delegates will be picked in August; the winners of *that* phase will then meet in a state convention early in 1988, to pick delegates to the national party convention, a full two years from now. George Bush and Jack Kemp each did marginally less well than expected. But the real news was TV evangelist Pat Robertson, whose supporters outfiled Kemp, and perhaps also Bush.

Robertson is not the only politically active evangelical. Two evangelicals won upset victories in Republican primaries for congressional seats in Indiana. Meanwhile, in Iowa, evangelicals took over the Republican Party in Polk County (the location of Des Moines). An evangelical political unknown, with almost no media budget, ran surprisingly well (42 per cent) in a primary against incumbent Senator Robert Packwood in Oregon. Other political ventures have been less successful: Evangelically supported candidates in Republican contests in Texas (governor) and California (senator) failed.

NR will examine the Robertson candidacy in due course. The activity of evangelicals in the GOP goes far beyond him, and their support is not in anyone's pocket. Jerry Falwell has been at it since the founding of Moral Majority in 1979; he has declared his support for George Bush.

There has been talk, and it will continue, that the evangelicals are putting the Republican Party in an ideological full nelson; sometimes evangelicals themselves, pleased with their own success, echo it. That's backward. The socially conservative evangelical activists are not imposing an agenda on the GOP; they have joined the Republicans because the party has been moving in their direction.

Conservative strategists have had their eyes on such voters since the Draft Goldwater movement began in 1961. Nixon lured them (or McGovern drove them) to the Republican banner in 1972. Jimmy Carter, with his Baptist background and his "personal opposition" to abortion, was a jag in the curve; Kevin Phillips guessed that the defection of small-town, white social conservatives cost Ford as much as 6 per cent of the national vote. But when Carter showed himself in his true colors—an indecisive prisoner of a McGovernite party—the trend continued.

Here Comes Pat Robertson

I do not like his crinkled smile;
There's something of the crocodile
About his sermonizing ways.
I think of Hester Prynne and raise
The question: Liberty for whom?
For her it spelled a lettered doom
Which the Most Innocent of Men
Withheld from Mary Magdalen.
Excuse me, but I also sang
In Sunday School, and feel a pang
When "Our Divine Redeemer" 's sung.
He says the pendulum has swung
Too far the other way, but I
Don't fancy his sweet by-and-by.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There will be puzzlers and problems. The evangelicals will want power and position in their new-found political home. So will other groups of Republicans, new and old. That is called coalition building, not hijacking.

The Waldheim Affair

VIEWED FROM an Austrian voter's perspective, the election of Kurt Waldheim was a vote reaffirming the declining political fortunes of the Austrian Socialist Party. (See also "Austria's American Election," p. 35.) As a matter of fact, Waldheim is not a very popular Austrian politician, as the polls show, and indeed he was forced into a runoff election.

Was Waldheim a war criminal? The evidence is still coming in, but it has not been shown that he had any role in the Holocaust. There are textual differences between the German and English editions of his autobiography, the German edition of which does not omit his role as a junior officer in the Balkans after service on the Russian front. He seems to be a habitual liar. The Yugoslav government no doubt has documentary evidence of savage Nazi reprisals against civilians during guerrilla warfare, but the guerrillas were fighting savagely themselves, and entirely outside the now totally forgotten Geneva Convention.

In all likelihood we must provisionally conclude that Mr. Waldheim was, as he has since been, a mere creature of his time and place, a natural bureaucrat, a Nazi when the Nazis were winning, a man who could stomach the United Nations. It has been wonderfully said of him that he is so thick-skinned that he does not need a backbone to stand erect.

The Jewish organizations were certainly right, morally speaking, to oppose his candidacy. They owed that to the people who were slaughtered by his colleagues. From a political perspective, they may have helped to elect Waldheim, but their perspective was not political.

The Austrians, in a free election, wanted Waldheim and they have got him. The United States deals diplomatically with many unsavory heads of state, and so far there is nothing about Waldheim that should change this policy.

Don't Get Your Irish Up

PRIME MINISTER THATCHER took a strong stand against terrorism with her support of the United States during the raid on Libya. Her actions deserve reciprocation. An extradition treaty between the United States and Great Britain has been bogged down in committee since last fall, causing the Iron Lady to ask, "What is the point of the United States taking a foremost part against terrorism and then not being as strict as they can against Irish terrorism, which afflicts one of their allies?"

The treaty is being opposed by Democratic senators with large Irish constituencies sympathetic to the IRA. Other opponents fear that the treaty could be changed to force extradition of Nicaraguan Contras or Afghan Mujahedin back to their captive countries. A proposed amendment, which should be added, would specify that the treaty does not set a precedent involving extradition to totalitarian nations.

It is not an issue of, as Senator John Kerry puts it, "one person's terrorist is someone else's freedom-fighter." The IRA often employs indiscriminate, capricious violence that takes the lives of innocent civilians. The October 1984 blast at the Brighton Grand Hotel, which killed five people and wounded 30, came within a few minutes of destroying a good part of the British government. This cannot be described as "political activity." The Republic of Ireland has an extradition treaty with Great Britain, and so should we.

Imelda Marcos ♥ David Rockefeller?

ACCORDING TO James S. Henry in a recent *New Republic*, two things happened simultaneously in the 1970s. Banks lent billions of dollars to Third World governments, and Third World rulers turned around and stashed billions of dollars in U.S. bank accounts. Often the shift was accomplished by a couple of bookkeeping entries, the money never actually leaving New York. The result is that the U.S. may in fact be a net debtor with respect to Latin America, while poor Latin populations are saddled with a debt they can ill repay and from which they never benefited. U.S. banks can never hope to collect the full value of the loans. Only the looters have won.

It's a dramatic story, and the awful part is that for some countries, and within a first approximation, it's true. In Mexico, former President López Portillo is widely rumored to have sent a billion dollars abroad during his six-year reign, and his successor, de la Madrid, was last reported also to be setting money aside in Switzerland. Mexican matrons go in for *haute couture* as avidly as Imelda, but benefit from the perfume of an anti-American national foreign policy.

The problem, then, is all too real, but Henry's proposed solutions would either not work or make things worse. He wants to pry open what remains of U.S. bank secrecy, focus public outrage on the "private international banking" operations of major U.S. banks, and in general enact new rules here and abroad to choke off "capital flight." (Most of the Mexicos of the world already have harsh rules against the export of dollars.) But even if we abolished the freedom of our own financial system in order to end

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its incidental benefits for foreign tycoons (or, for that matter, drug smugglers), hot money could readily go elsewhere, at the cost of some inefficiency in recycling the deposits back into the world economy.

Capital-flight controls at the other end, however, the Mexico end, might work all too well. The problem is that capital flight is the resource of the worst elements in Third World society, but also the best; of the expropriators, but also of those they seek to expropriate. Insecurity of property tenure is *the* fundamental economic problem in countries like Mexico and the Philippines, and rules against capital flight make it worse. Long before Marx's *Communist Manifesto* called for confiscating the property of all rebels and emigrants, controls on capital flight had become a chief weapon of tyrannies.

The ruling elite that enforces the regulations can typically get around the rules itself; it is the honest who suffer. Until we can distinguish between ill-gotten and well-gotten fortunes, attacks on capital flight will make sense only for those who would rather see wealth destroyed than see emigrants rich.

Intelligence and Heredity, Continued

THE SPRING 1986 number of *The Public Interest* brings some piquant data on the subject of intelligence testing. Authors Snyderman and Rothman surveyed 1,020 professionals in the education and testing field regarding the validity and usefulness of IQ and other tests, a matter vexed by politics and ideology and the occasion of much recent litigation. An overwhelming majority of the professionally well informed consider that intelligence has a strong genetic component, even as musical, athletic, and other abilities do.

During the late 1960s and earlier 1970s, Arthur Jensen and Richard Herrnstein, among others, were vilified for making just such a case. As Snyderman and Rothman put it, they "met with virulent opposition, and very little vocal support from either the professional community or the general public. We were surprised, therefore, to find that most of our experts agree with Jensen and Herrnstein. When asked to give their opinion of the source of the black-white . . . differences in IQ, the majority of expert respondents attributes the differences to both genetic and environmental variation. Fifty-three per cent believe that genes and environment are both involved in the black-white difference, compared to only 17 per cent who attribute the cause only to environment."

The general public, in contrast, believes a contradiction, viz., that the tests are valid, but that what they are saying about group differences is not true. The authors attribute the contradiction to a public desire for group equality with regard to opportunity. Snyderman and Rothman indicate that though intelligence and aptitude tests are not perfect, they will be increasingly useful as society becomes more high-tech, and that an accurate assessment of their utility—e.g., one less affected by ideology—is therefore in the broad national interest.

Benno Schmidt, Call Your Office

BEING GAY and at Yale may be hard. Being conservative and at Yale is even harder. That's the moral to be discerned in Yale's most recent venture into censorship. Every year the gay community at Yale hosts GLAD week—Gay/Lesbian Awareness Days. This year, one student responded by putting up his own rather witty poster advertising BAD week—Bestial Awareness Days. Yale called that "sexual harassment" and placed the student on two-years' probation.

This isn't the first time Yale has cracked down on speech it considers objectionable. Oddly, Yale administrators don't seem to recognize that free speech is at issue. They think they are being "sensitive" to the concerns of minority students.

Liberty is fragile. It's easy for a community to view those who violate its narrow consensus as extremists, pariahs, outside the bonds of civilized discourse. But civilized discourse ends where censorship begins. In civilized society, we restrain our natural urge to silence opinions we find offensive. Funny how, at America's great universities, the "offensive" opinions are almost always conservative ones.

The decision of Yale to punish a student for his political and moral beliefs is offensive. It is offensive to many conservatives, who do not accept the privileged status of sexual orientations. It is also patronizing to Yale's gay students.

One of the worst aspects of the current wave of repression in the name of sexual ideology and ethnic sensitivity is that members of minority groups are assumed to have the most delicate self-esteem, dis-

The Fear Factor

Jesse Jackson, who's been swell
To both Raúl and Fidel,
Came to Newark just to sack
Pete Rodino for a black.
Since his exhortations soon
Sank like a cement balloon,
Will the party say, "Skidoo"?
Not while violets are blue.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solving at the slightest hint of social disapproval. Neither gays, nor any other group, requires special protection from the give-and-take of democratic controversy.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ In Re Joe Sobran and Anti-Semitism

Complaints have reached us concerning a series of columns written by my colleague Joseph Sobran under the aegis of his newspaper syndicate. It is charged that these columns constitute anti-Semitism. In the columns, Mr. Sobran, among other things, has declared that Israel is not an ally to be trusted; surmised that the *New York Times* endorsed the military strike against Libya only because it served its Zionist editorial line; and ruminated that the visit of the Pope to a synagogue had the effect of muting historical persecutions of Christians by Jews. In that last column, Mr. Sobran, exasperated, wrote, "But it has become customary recently to ascribe all Jewish-Christian friction to Christians. If a Jew complains about Christians, Christians must be persecuting him. If a Christian complains about Jews, he is doing the persecuting—in the very act of complaining. It simply isn't fair." And in his most recent column on the theme, Joe Sobran complains that he is criticized for being anti-Semitic unwarrantedly: "I find that the more I say what I really think, the more I'm accused of thinking something else." Again he says that "the word 'anti-Semite' is more potent than most of the charges of bigotry that are flung around these days. It carries the whiff of Nazism and mass murder. 'It means,' as a friend of mine puts it, 'that you ultimately approve of the gas chambers.' "

It is appropriate, on my own behalf and on that of my other senior colleagues, to comment on what is becoming a public quarrel involving Joe Sobran and those who impute anti-Semitism to him.

What needs to be said first is that those who know him know that Sobran is not anti-Semitic. Neither is he (begin counting), a) anti-black, b) anti-Italian, c) anti-women, nor even, d) anti-gay, to list some of the controversies he has got into that have resulted in such allegations. He is against a) some things done by blacks, b) some things done by Italian-Americans, c) some things done by the women's liberation movement, and d) some things done by gays. With learning and eloquence, his acute eye roams the universe day and night in search of paradox and irony. In doing so he finds his quarries; but sometimes, in exposing them, he expresses himself with excessive liberty from accepted conventions.

Now ethnic sensitivities vary. It doesn't much matter what John Cheever or John O'Hara or John Updike or anybody else writes about them—you cannot really succeed, in America, in riling WASPs. Their sense of security is as solid as Plymouth Rock, and incidentally as insensate. Blacks, yes, are sensitive, but black lobbies are not powerful enough to punish nonpolitical transgressors against such taboos. (A black book-buyers' boycott against a novelist would not impoverish.) If the spoken or written offense is egregious enough, as in the case of the joke told to John Dean by Agricultural Secretary Earl Butz, a Cabinet officer gets fired. If a district attorney is named to a federal judgeship and it is revealed that he once made a pot-valiantly genial reference to the Ku Klux Klan, he can be defeated on the floor of the Senate. And no one running for office in a state in which the black population is significant would consider, post 1965, violating the taboo. On the other hand, there is discussion of such questions as relative black intelligence, sexual promiscuity, and upward mobility, that still gets a sober hearing in sober surroundings. About the American Indians one can say most things with impunity; about gays, progressively less as, emerging from the closet, they consolidate and give strength to their retaliatory powers.

In respect of American Jews, the sensitivity is of an extremely high order, and for the best of reasons. The toniest "liberal" universities in America would not, until about the time Joe Sobran was born, give tenure to Jewish professors. To elect a Jewish student to most social fraternities was quite simply unthinkable a generation ago. The designation of Jews as mortal enemies of civilization by the same European power that had given us Bach and Goethe, Kant and Einstein, reminded the Jews (those Jews who survived) that no society, however civilized its pedigree, can complacently be trusted to desist from the ferocious human activity: genocide.

It is a far cry from Auschwitz to the suggestion (Joe Sobran's) that the Israelis are "frequently duplicitous" in their behavior toward America: But it ought not to surprise Sobran that such charges tend to alarm American Jews. And given Sobran's high intellectual acumen, one wonders that he should, on the one hand, quote with evident concurrence an anonymous friend's warning that the word "anti-Semitic" ". . . means that you ultimately approve of the gas chambers," and yet be surprised—indeed, be deeply hurt—by the intensity of the criticism he has experienced. When, 35 years ago, I wrote that an anticonservative, anti-Christian consensus prevailed in the Yale faculty, I would not have been justified in registering surprise when conservative Christian scholars at Yale failed to achieve tenure.

My own evaluation of the public question in which Joe Sobran is involved—and here I speak also for the other senior editors—is this:

1. The structure of prevailing taboos respecting Israel

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"My deal!"

and the Jews is welcome. The age calls for hypersensitivity to anti-Semitism, over against a lackadaisical return to the blasé conventions of the pre-war generation, which in one country led to genocidal catastrophe. Needless to say, this is hardly to dignify the preposterous charges of anti-Semitism occasionally leveled, ignorantly and sometimes maliciously, at anyone who takes a position contrary to that of organized Jewish opinion, whether in Israel or elsewhere.

2. Any person who, given the knowledge of the reigning protocols, read and agonized over the half-dozen columns by Joe Sobran might reasonably conclude that those columns were written by a writer inclined to anti-Semitism. A savage entering a Catholic church who absentmindedly chewed on consecrated wafers would not be thought blasphemous. The non-savage, doing the same thing, would. Naïfs cannot commit a black mass; cosmopolitans can, and do.

3. Those who know Joe Sobran know not only that he does not harbor ethnic prejudices, but that he regards such prejudice as sinful, despised by God, and therefore despised by man. But the personal integrity of a private man is a matter adjudicated between him, his family, and his conscience. The integrity of a public figure is public business. If the public establishes a consensus that during the playing of the National Anthem hands should not be placed in one's pants pockets, then to do so from the dais is an affront on the assembly, never mind that the clinical argument can be made that hands in pockets are not intrinsically an act of disrespect.

4. In the last 15 or twenty years, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, it became plain that institutional anti-Semitism was consolidating around the political Left, where, ideologically, class hatreds belong. A scholar, recently commenting on the drift away from Communism by the American Left, acutely observed that their disillusion with Communism was rather a reaction against Communism's "ungainly" cultural performance in literature and the arts, than against human depravity. In England, anti-Semitism (disguised as anti-Zionism) is the property of the political Left. So does the animus move in the United States, where *The Nation* magazine exhibits the same kind of toleration toward anti-Semitism (witness the recent essay there by Gore Vidal, in which neoconservatives are dismissed as Zionist imperialists) that it shows to Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas, and Alger Hiss. The movement of anti-Semitism from unexamined prejudice of the political Right to inchoate agenda of the political Left is of epochal significance. The call, on the right, fully to excrete its old prejudices is, accordingly, of first strategic and tactical importance.

5. NATIONAL REVIEW has, since its inception, declined association with anti-Semites, and indeed on one occasion went a generic step further. When it became clear, in 1957, that the direction *The American Mercury* was headed was anti-Semitic, I ruled, with the enthusiastic approval of my colleagues, that no writer appearing on *The Mercury*'s masthead, notwithstanding his own innocence on the subject, could also appear on NATIONAL REVIEW'S.

The relationship of this journal toward our highly esteemed and beloved colleague, Joe Sobran, is one that will ultimately reflect a mature and civilized resolution of our commitment to these positions. We know him not to be what he is thought by some to have become; but what they suspect is not, under the circumstances, unreasonable. Accordingly, I here dissociate myself and my colleagues from what we view as the obstinate tendentiousness of Joe Sobran's recent columns. We are confident that in the weeks and months to come, he will charitably and rationally acknowledge the right reason behind the crystallization of the present structure of taboos, and that he will accordingly argue his positions in such fashion as to avoid affronting our natural allies.

—WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"If there is a better book on the 1984 presidential campaign, I haven't heard about it...."

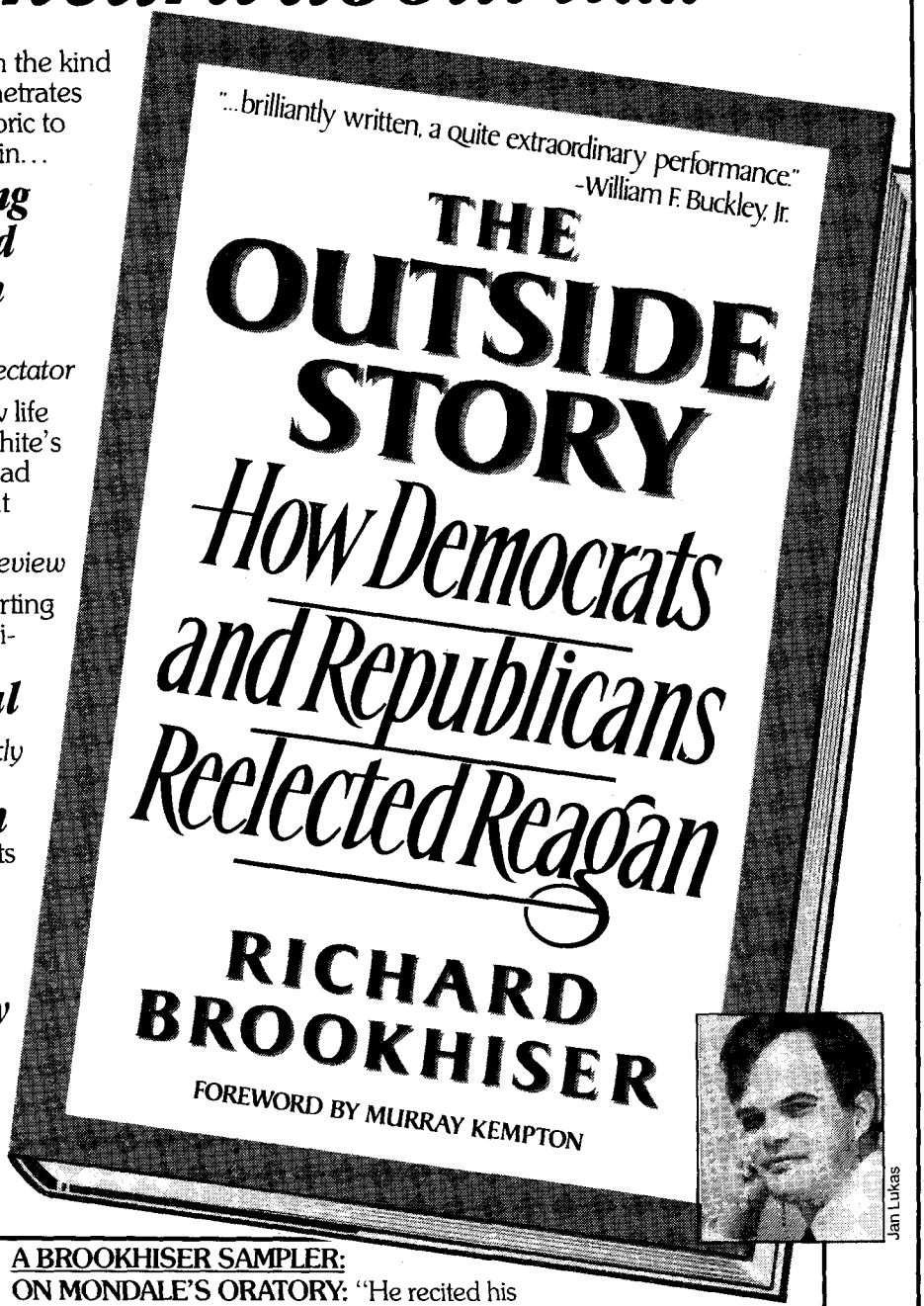
Richard Brookhiser writes with the kind of deconstructionist zeal that penetrates the woozy surface of stump rhetoric to isolate the hard nubs of fact within...

A witty and compelling argument for the good sense of the American people." —Terry Teachout, *The American Spectator*

"Brookhiser has pumped new life into what, with Theodore White's retirement from the scene, had become a dull if not dormant literary genre."
—Victor Gold, *National Review*

"Based on his own 'outside' reporting —a careful analysis of what candidates said and did—this is ***a fresh and thoughtful account."*** —*Publishers Weekly*

"Brilliantly written ....Although it goes over contests with which we are all familiar, it brings them to life by casting a penetrating eye and intelligence on things done and said.... ***A quite extraordinary performance."***
—William F. Buckley, Jr.


"...brilliantly written, a quite extraordinary performance."
-William F. Buckley, Jr.
THE OUTSIDE STORY
How Democrats and Republicans Reelected Reagan
RICHARD BROOKHISER
FOREWORD BY MURRAY KEMPTON

Jan Lukas

A BROOKHISER SAMPLER:

ON MONDALE'S ORATORY: "He recited his speech solemnly, like someone explaining the facts of life."

ON FERRARO'S SOPHISTICATION: "She pegged her discussion of Lebanon and Central America to trips she had taken there as a Congresswoman....She referred to them for the same reason Baudelaire wrote about sin, or Thomas Wolfe about Asheville: it was all they knew."

ON CUOMO'S ABORTION STAND: "He had found, in consensus and prudence, a way of having religion when he wanted it and not having it when he didn't."

ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: "Americans believe in the brotherhood of man or in the war of the worlds, not in balance of power."

A Dual Main Selection of The Conservative Book Club

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENATE POWER GAME

THE LATE-SPRING book in Washington has the Republicans keeping control of the Senate in November, but narrowly. A putative buoyant economy in the fall reinforces that forecast. Power maneuvers and jostlings for key committee chairmanships are already visible; they will be the summer staple of pool and patio chitchat as we head into the regrouping and plotting season.

The Armed Services Committee is the key piece of an intricate committee succession puzzle that could affect a number of Republican political futures. Barry Goldwater, the current head, is retiring at the end of the year, so that coveted chairmanship will be up for grabs. Whether or not there will be a political donnybrook depends on the decision of the party's eldest statesman, South Carolina's Strom Thurmond.

Under the time-honored seniority rule, control of Armed Services would automatically have fallen to Thurmond, who currently heads Judiciary. But a couple of years ago, as sources tell it, Thurmond agreed to remain at Judiciary, allowing the much younger John Warner (Va.), who has developed a keen interest in defense affairs, to take over Armed Services upon Goldwater's retirement. However, Senate insiders are saying, the courtly Thurmond changed his mind during the past year and now desires to cap his long and distinguished career with a second influential committee chairmanship.

One reason Thurmond remained at Judiciary was reputedly to block Republican liberal Charles Mathias (Md.) from the chairmanship. Mathias's announced retirement means that the conservative Orrin Hatch (Utah) can now inherit Judiciary. Hatch could certainly be counted on to get more of Ed Meese's federal judges appointed.

Warner supporters grumble that Thurmond, despite energy and vitality that belie his 83 years, is past his peak and may be unable to carry out the agenda of military reform that Goldwater set in motion. "The younger members want a dynamic leader," insists a source close to Warner, who described the Virginia senator as "frustrated" by the turn of events. "Defense and arms control are all he thinks about."

Warner is not without his critics on Armed Services, however. They concede that while he has worked hard and rid himself of the image of a lightweight, he too often puts his finger up to gauge the political winds before making a decision, an inapposite characteristic for the would-be chairman of a committee with billions of dollars to spend. "Not at all John Towerish," notes a hard-line Democratic senator, cynically.

Officially, spokesmen for Thurmond say that he won't make any final decision until after the November elections, but he reportedly bristled at gentle suggestions that he reconsider becoming Armed Services chairman. Fine, retorted Thurmond, if that's the way you want it. Why don't we scrap the seniority system altogether?

COULD THERE be a rear-guard insurrection against Thurmond? In 1985, a once-unthinkable revolt occurred among the Young Turks in the Democratic-controlled House. Armed Services Committee. A number of liberal members felt that the ailing Representative Mel Price (Ill.) wasn't up to the job of chairman, and after a bloody internal feud, the elderly Price (and his colleague Charles Bennett of Florida) were shunted aside in favor of the younger, ambitious Les Aspin (Wis.), prince of the Monday press release and once considered a self-serving gadfly by many of his colleagues. That palace revolt eventually had a nasty backlash, as Aspin's fellow liberals on the committee began accusing him of bad faith in legislative bargaining and going back on his word on major military-weapons issues.

In the clubbier atmosphere of the Senate, such an uprising is unlikely, and the feisty Thurmond, though aging, usually gets what he wants. No sane Republican will oppose him publicly, and White House aides who might have preferences will stay out of it.

But Warner's discomfiture is not to be taken lightly. Virginia Republicans have already seized on rumors of his unhappiness to encourage him to run for governor of Virginia, a post in which he says he has "absolutely no interest." Those close to him believe there is still a chance that a majority of GOP Armed Services members may try to dissuade Thurmond from assuming the chair. Warner is concerned that loose talk about Republican chairmanships will strike voters as presumptuous, potentially costing the party votes in some close Senate races.

Senators with committee chairmanships on the line, meanwhile, are holding their breaths. If Thurmond moves into the Armed Services slot, and Hatch into the Judiciary one, young Dan Quayle (Ind.) would inherit the big Labor and Human Resources Committee, which Hatch has used well to air conservative positions on social issues.

We are seeing an encroachment on the seniority system, as dissatisfaction with the ritual and prerogatives of seniority pits younger, more middle-of-the-road senators against the party's elder conservative power brokers, especially in key areas like military spending and federal judicial selection. A breakdown in party discipline is also rendering younger members impatient. They don't want to wait a generation for a major chairmanship. Big committees with billion-dollar budgets are becoming less the fiefdoms of autocratic chairmen and more the fora for the ambitions of basically conservative but more pragmatic members. Now comes the survival of the fitter. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEST EVER!
30TH ANNIVERSARY PARTY

NOW ON TAPE
GET IT FREE!!

That was the scene at the Plaza Hotel when *National Review* celebrated its 30th birthday. The dining room was jam-packed with probably the most glittering crowd of conservatives ever gathered in one place. President and Mrs. Reagan were there, along with Master of Ceremonies Charlton Heston, Clare Boothe Luce, Jack Kemp, George Will, dashing Tom Selleck, and hundreds more—just about every conservative notable you can think of. Bill Buckley and the editors and staff of *National Review* did their darnedest to tally *everybody.*

From Charlton Heston's introduction, through a piano interlude by world-renowned jazz pianist Dick Wellstood (incredible!), then on to the various tributes sparkling with wit and wisdom, it was a fast-paced, magical affair. The crowded room was alive with high spirits and smiling faces, charged with the electricity of well-earned triumph. It was a night to remember, dedicated to the friends of *National Review* everywhere.

'THE MOST GLITTERING CROWD OF CONSERVATIVES EVER GATHERED IN ONE PLACE'

For those who were there, as well as for the host of those who, unable to attend, were certainly there in spirit, the entire affair has been recorded and is now available on two high-quality tape cassettes. Best of all, you can get these cassettes FREE as a bonus simply by entering (or renewing) your subscription to *National Review* for a full year at the regular $34 rate.

You've *got* to hear them. The mood, the laughter, the music, the sweet taste of victory—it all comes through so strongly that you can imagine you're there. Not to mention the fact that they are worth owning for Mr. Reagan's wonderfully exhilarating speech alone—but there's much, much more that will delight you in these priceless tapes.

So enter (or renew, no matter when it expires) your subscription to *National Review* today and we'll rush that tape to you as soon as possible. Then gather your clan, maybe open some Champagne, switch on the tapes, and stage your own celebration. Send for it now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDIVISIBLE TERRORISM

WAS I THE ONLY *NR* reader, I wonder, who felt at least mildly queasy when reading Western reactions to South Africa's raids on the capitals of three neighboring black states? Mr. Larry Speakes, for the White House, expressed "outrage." Sir Geoffrey Howe, for the British government, "deplored" the attacks. The European Commission felt "profound concern and indignation" and called the raids "condemnable."

And all that was just the top end. Mr. Neil Kinnock, for the British Labour Party, and Dr. David Owen, for the Social Democrats, called on the government to impose sanctions. At what might be termed the spluttering end, Mr. Shridath ("Sonny") Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary General, accused the South African government of having "declared war on peace in southern Africa."

Curiously, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, whose "peace" mission was abruptly interrupted by the raids, was relatively muted, and a consensus of a kind indicated that all hope was not being abandoned.

Such reactions tell us much about the subjectivity of approaches to terrorism, the relativity of the moral stances involved, and the hypocrisy of double standards. If there is a moral difference between the American raid on Libya in April and the South African raids on the African National Congress (ANC) in May, I wish somebody would explain it to me.

Libya under Qaddafi harbors terrorists. The governments of Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe harbor terrorists. All sections of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are involved in terrorism, with variations only of degree; the ANC is a terrorist organization. Moreover, operating from relatively close range, the South African raids were more precise and less costly in innocent lives than the American attack on Libya, hampered by the remoteness of the British base and the uncooperative attitude of the French.

But of course, the South African regime is bad, and apartheid is wicked, whereas Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are members of the Commonwealth, and therefore, by definition, good.

This business of relativity in the definition of terrorism is bothersome. The United States still refuses to extradite IRA terrorists. A Dutch court not long ago refused to extradite two convicted IRA terrorists, Brendan McFarlane and Gerard Kelly. Both were involved in the mass escape from the Maze prison, much publicized by the world's media. Both had been convicted of atrocious crimes. Mr. Ken Livingstone, a contender for the future leadership of the Labour Party, went to Amsterdam the other day to persuade the Dutch to stand firm against the evil British in their attempt to put McFarlane and Kelly back behind bars.

Some weeks ago Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the long-detained leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, addressing a crowd of black South Africans in Munsieville, had this to say: "Together, hand in hand, with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." By "necklaces," she was referring to the charming practice of filling an automobile tire with gasoline, placing it around somebody's neck, and setting it alight.

The significance of this threat lies in the fact that it concerned specifically the "necklacing" of blacks by other blacks. The victims are labeled "collaborators" because, in one way or the other, they uphold the law and order of apartheid. The parallel between the ANC's use of the necklace and the IRA's use of electric drills to "kneecap" pro-British Ulstermen is exact. Both belong in the category of "coercive terrorism," which I defined in *The Rebels* more than 25 years ago.

To quote the redoubtable Aida Parker's *Newsletter* for April 22, an incident on May 20, 1983, "marked the ANC's adoption of IRA/PLO tactics: a constant terror offensive." What happened on May 20, 1983? The ANC detonated a bomb in Pretoria, killing 18 people and injuring two hundred.

IT IS important to remember that those in the West who agitate for "peace talks" between the ANC and the South African government are supporting an organization that for many years has been virtually conterminous with one of Lenin's first overseas creations, the South African Communist Party. In the international support of the ANC, the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) has long allocated a special role to the East Germans.

Like any other terrorist/Communist group, the ANC is interested only in victory, i.e., the collapse and capitulation of the existing regime. Anyone misguided enough to suppose that the road to peace in South Africa lies through Western-style democracy (in practice, a handover to the ANC) should ponder the consequences, which, at a sober evaluation, would include massacres of the white and Asian populations with a mass exodus of survivors (but where to? Argentina? Australia? the U.S.A.?) and the emergence of a black Communist state (or more likely several such, on tribal lines) of a kind that might well outrival the tyranny of Mengistu in Ethiopia.

Is there in fact a road to peace in South Africa? One must admit that it is now awfully late. The worst aspects of petty apartheid have gone; but very late. As for the other, constitutional, apartheid (the creation of black homelands), it is no more offensive to morality than the separate development of French-, German-, and Italian-speaking cantons in Switzerland. A true federal structure is still within reach. Just. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THOMAS JEFFERSON, who never was known for his patience, had run out of what little he had. "My God!" he cried in a letter to James Monroe. "How little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy."

Jefferson was writing in 1785. Two hundred years later, his irritated observation provides a text for our own time. We Americans are great ones for counting our liabilities. Those of us in the news business have been a help in that regard. We have contributed handsomely to the weaving of hair shirts. Gibbon might have been talking about our daily papers when he observed that history is "little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind." For us, good news is no news. Bad people make news. We of the press feed on the crimes, the follies, the misfortunes.

These abound. If one were to catalogue the bad things about contemporary American life, a threshold problem would lie in finding a place to start. Millions of our young people are ruining their lives with narcotics. Drug abuse produces appalling levels of crime. The Census Bureau records 1.6 million abortions a year. Twenty per cent of all infants, and 55 per cent of black infants, are born out of wedlock. The very institution of wedlock is in trouble: The bureau's statisticians chronicle 2.4 million marriages a year, and 1.2 million divorces. Two million couples are living, as we used to say, in sin. Almost nobody says that any more. Our public schools, despite recent waves of improvement, are preparing children poorly for the competitive world of the next century. The nation's imbalance of trade approaches an intolerable point; interest on the national debt runs to nearly $3 billion a week. Unemployment remains stubbornly high. Such basic industries as steel and textiles are struggling for survival.

Had enough? The litany could be much extended. We do not write about marriages that are strong, about healthy children reared in a free society, about significant gains in church membership and attendance. Stories of man's humanity toward man are local stories. They too rarely make the wire.

It is not fashionable to quote Richard Nixon, but I quote him anyway. Off and on throughout the campaign of 1972, Nixon ended his speeches with the same thought: "If I could have chosen any time and place in history to have been born, I would have chosen the United States of America in the twentieth century." Why do we love our country? Let us count the ways.

We love it for its size, its variety, its strength. Not long ago I took an early-morning flight from Washington, D.C., to San Francisco. It was one of those clear, clear days that April brings. From 35,000 feet my country unrolled beneath the silver wings—mountains and rivers, forests awash in the pale green tints of spring. America goes early to work. Even from that altitude one could see ant columns of traffic headed for the cities. Within the cities one sensed the factories, the schools, the playgrounds. The Midwest was mostly earth brown, freshly plowed, the contour lines like rings in agate. The wrinkled hide of the desert lay stretched upon the bones of barren mountains. For the hundredth time I marveled from the comfort of a 747 at the pioneers in their wagons: How could they have survived that long, long trek to California? Losing altitude now: verdant fields, small towns, muscular hills in morning-shadowed leotards of shamrock green. To the west, the

Mr. Kilpatrick is a Virginia gentleman and syndicated columnist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pacific, blue as ink. A rumble of landing gear, a final swoop to the runway. Is it a banality to say, simply, without adornment, that ours is a beautiful land? Count our blessings.

We take the material things for granted. The key problem on our farms lies in their sheer abundance. Elsewhere in the world the problem is "too little." The American complaint is "too much"—too much milk, too much butter, too much cheese, too much wheat and corn. What a complaint! The worries of our basic industries are substantial, but their output remains prodigious. Nineteen million workers still are engaged in manufacturing. They produce more than one-fifth of the national income. Not everything has been surrendered to Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong. Too many of our people are unemployed, but do we keep in mind that 110 million *are* employed—and that our poor, maligned economy is creating jobs at the rate of 300,000 a month?

The men who met in 1787 were part of a sunburst of political genius, fairly to be compared with the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome. We still sip from their wine

The blessings that mean the most cannot be measured in tons or bushels or kilowatt hours. Next year we begin observance of the two hundredth anniversary of the Constitution. This was a precious blessing Jefferson couldn't count on when he wrote that letter to Monroe. What a document! What a charter! The men who met at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 were part of a sunburst of political genius, fairly to be compared with the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome. Why was our fledgling nation so fortunate? In a single generation a benign providence gave us Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, Pendleton, Marshall, Wythe, Henry, Mason, Morris, the Randolphs and Pinckneys, wise old Franklin—what a roll call! Not all of them were at Philadelphia, of course, and not all of them supported ratification of the Constitution, but they shared in an amazing fermentation of political ideas. We still sip from their wine.

Consider the house of our fathers. Abandoning the ineffectual Articles of Confederation, the Framers erected a new structure on two foundation stones. Separation of powers was one principle; federalism was the other. The national government was to be strong—but not too strong. It would be checked within itself; its authority would be balanced by the reserved authority of the states. The structure had the grace and purity of a Gothic arch. Yes, the foundation stones have eroded. Some federal agencies blend executive, legislative, and judicial powers. The role of the states has been much diminished. Yet the structure remains intact. As a work of political architecture it knows no parallel—and we have inherited the family mansion.

The structure is only a part of our legacy. Burke warned his monarch that the rebellious colonials could not be defeated. They were possessed of a "fierce love of liberty" that could not be crushed. When it came time to write a Bill of Rights, Madison wrote that fierce love of liberty into the supreme law of the land: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press . . ." Madison reached back to Magna Carta in drafting the Fourth Amendment: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated . . ."

Those guarantees became effective in 1791. Not a term of the Supreme Court passes that we do not see their vitality reaffirmed. We can disagree as we will upon particular interpretations. Was it lawful for Pawtucket to maintain a crèche in a municipal park? Could Nebraska's legislature employ a chaplain? Could a Jewish doctor in the Air Force constitutionally wear his yarmulke while in uniform? Were Alabama schoolchildren denied the free exercise of religion by the High Court's opinion on a mandated minute of silence? Let us argue the issues as we will. Do newspapers have a right to cover pre-trial hearings? Could the *Miami Herald* be compelled by state law to print a politician's statement? In a libel suit, is it up to a plaintiff to prove the falsity or up to a publication to prove the truth of defamatory statements? In some of these cases I applauded the decisions; in some I protested. The point is that the guarantees of our liberty were not a limited warranty. They have not expired. Only a few weeks ago the Supreme Court decided companion cases having to do with aerial surveillance by law-enforcement authorities. Were these flyovers reasonable or unreasonable searches? The Court, 5 to 4, found them reasonable. I thought the Court was right in one case, wrong in the other, but so what? The Fourth Amendment is neither dead nor sleeping.

In another few months the people will elect the whole of the House of Representatives and a third of the Senate. Two years hence we will elect a new President. Do we often pause to count free elections among our "precious blessings"? Looking at some of the outcomes, perhaps not, but when we look at one-party governments around the world perhaps we should take a more tolerant view of democracy in action.

The love of liberty is matched in our inheritance by a respect for property. This too goes back to Magna Carta, to King John's pledge that "No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or anyone else, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman for transport work against the will of that freeman." We are trustees of a rule of law. In our system, unlike other systems, an accused cannot be compelled to testify; he is guaranteed the assistance of counsel and the summoning of witnesses in his own behalf; he cannot be subjected to excessive bail or to cruel and unusual punishments. How often do we think upon these things?

There will be time enough, tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow, to dwell upon the bad news that those of us in the news business must report. Now and then, like Burke's silent cattle in the shadow of the oak, we should let the presence of good news rise above the grasshoppers' importunate chink. Our country has not lost its way. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Anxieties Of The Ruling Class

MAX SINGER

IT HAS BECOME popular on the Right to talk about liberals or Democrats as the "hate-America" crowd. Not only is this unfair and untrue, it misses the point. The problem with liberals and Democrats, or rather with many members of the liberal and Democratic elite, is not that they hate America, but that they have low "national morale." That is, they have lost their respect for their country, and thus part of their self-respect.

Many Americans have noticed that our country has been increasingly divided into "the people" and some other, much smaller group. Different names have been given to the smaller group—such as "elite," or "intellectuals," or "the new class"—but the cleavage itself is almost universally recognized. Though social theorists may disagree about the precise makeup of the elite class, it clearly includes virtually all the people Americans look to for the articulation of ideas.

The 1984 election made this cleavage more obvious than ever to many people who knew scarcely anyone who didn't vote for Mondale, but who woke on Wednesday morning to discover that somewhere there were enough Americans they didn't know to give Ronald Reagan a landslide victory. For though there are many conservatives and Republicans among the elite, its great bulk is liberal and Democratic.

Some of the same conservatives who talk about the hate-America crowd can frequently be heard lamenting "American guilt complexes" or a "loss of national will." The truth is that most of the evidence one could think of citing—opinion polls, the landslide re-election of the least *Angst*-ridden President in living memory, the popular reaction to Grenada—contradicts the idea that the nation as a whole suffers from any such psychic difficulties.

Our problem, in my hypothesis, is rather that a significant percentage of the American elite has low national morale. I believe that the low national morale in the community responsible for ideas in America is a major cause of the sterility of the national discussion of most public-policy issues in recent years.

Most people have had some experience with the feeling of a low-morale organization, and with the substandard performance it usually delivers. The value of keeping an organization's morale high should be perfectly clear. High morale is not a shallow matter of mood, nor a feeling of automatic or unrealistic optimism or self-congratulation. It is a basic long-term orientation. A high-morale organization is able to recognize and accept unpleasant facts, whereas in a low-morale organization divisiveness and back-biting are dominant, people don't respond well to challenges, and there is a low sensitivity to insults or dangers to the organization.

Just as there is morale in organizations, there is morale in countries. "Morale" can be summarized as the degree of self-respect that the members of an organization feel in regard to that organization. While morale purports to be based on objective facts—such as the organization's success, morality, or prospects—in fact it is based on the members' subjective choice of which standard to use to evaluate the organization. The members of an organization with high morale judge their organization by standards that the organization meets well.

Though it is easy to find criteria by which the U.S. is despicable, it is even easier to find standards by which it is commendable, compared to almost any other country, now or in the past. Roughly speaking, people whose feel-

---

Mr. Singer, a founder of the Hudson Institute, now heads The Potomac Organization in Washington, D.C. This article is from his forthcoming book, Passage to a Human World: How an Edifice of Error Blocks Our View of What Is Happening in History.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nothing in our discussion of foreign policy gives the sense that Americans could lose anything important, such as our freedom, because of a failure of our foreign and defense policies

ings about the U.S. are dominated by the standards our country fails to meet, rather than by those by which we look good, have low national morale. Of course in any country there are some people with high national morale and others with low national morale. But any organization in which a majority of the members have low morale is in an unhealthy condition.

Since it is not obvious how to identify people who have low national morale, the concept does not readily lend itself to statistical analysis. But there is an operational test. If someone who does not have low national morale believes something bad about the country, and you are able to show him that he is mistaken, he will be pleased to hear the news and happy to give up his erroneous reason for dissatisfaction. On the other hand, someone with low national morale will not only be very resistant to such good news, but if he is finally convinced that it is true, he will take no pleasure from it and will immediately go on to tell you something else bad about the country.

I believe that the special minority we are discussing is so important to the country, and that its national morale is so low, that we need to think of this condition as a significant social pathology. (Which is definitely *not* to say that the individuals who have low national morale are sick; it is the country that has a malady when so many of such a group of its citizens have low national morale.)

Having low morale about your country is very different from hating it. Many Americans who have lost their respect for their country nevertheless love it, wouldn't think of living anywhere else, and if it were attacked would gladly fight and die for it.

Normally the small number of Americans who hate their country don't constitute a problem. Other people usually recognize their hatred and therefore reject what they say. However, a person who has low national morale isn't so easily put off by someone else's hatred of his country. (One common symptom of low morale, remember, is reduced sensitivity to insults and dangers to the organization.) Therefore when low national morale is common, the small number of Americans who hate America are much more influential than in normal times.

Of course even within the elite minority we are discussing, there are millions of people who have high national morale. Also, those who don't are not necessarily going around with drooping chins. They may have high personal morale, and also high morale about their other affiliations. Many of them have high morale about political activities that they are moved to engage in partly because of their lack of self-respect as Americans. Lacking hard data, the most important evidence for low national morale is the degree to which the kind of errors that are a characteristic result of low morale permeate our national discussion. The low national morale of the American elite is the key to understanding two fundamental ways in which our public-policy discussion during the last generation has become badly warped.

AMERICAN DISCUSSION of most foreign-policy issues has been unreal for many years because it has refused to face one of the most fundamental features of the international landscape: the profound difference between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the danger presented by the nature of the Soviet regime and the imperatives of its character and situation.

Of course, almost all Americans recognize that the Soviet Union is a terrible regime. An anti-Soviet political consensus is the principal justification for our vast defense expenditures. But among the intellectual elite this consensus has the character of a moral convention, one that is observed in public but not internalized. The tone of the public discussion demonstrates this. It normally excludes the emotional and logical effects of true belief in the Soviet threat. Thus national defense is discussed as if it were a pure waste of resources, rather than the guarantor of all our other resources. Nothing in our discussion of foreign policy gives the sense that Americans could lose anything important, such as our freedom, because of a failure of our foreign and defense policies.

Now, designing a sound foreign policy requires much more than recognizing the danger presented by the Soviet Union. That recognition is only the beginning. But almost all aspects of a rational foreign policy must swim in the ocean of our conflict with the Soviets. Elite discussion barely recognizes that the water is there.

In domestic policy there is a weak parallel to the blindness in our foreign-policy debate. The great fact that we have only recently begun to face on the domestic side is that a major part of the black community needs to improve its performance, that the culture of that community needs to change, and that these needs are central to any effort to help blacks. (Note that the common denominator of these two unmentionables is the elite's unwillingness to face them, not any similarity between the Soviet rulers and lower-class blacks.)

The great challenge in creating a program to help poor people is to do it without encouraging further dependency. The most difficult tasks in creating a program to combat discrimination are preventing it from weakening the motivation of people who should be struggling to improve themselves, preventing it from reducing the value of the credentials they earn, and preventing it from being so unjust and destructive toward the rest of society that, by creating a backlash, it does more harm than good. Thus the key to the success of these social programs is the way they interact with black culture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For years, however, we were not able even to talk about the problems that the black lower-class community causes itself, much less take them into account in designing policy. Senator Moynihan's attempt to address part of the issue twenty years ago, in his memorandum on problems in the black family, was used against him for years, and the charge of "blaming the victim" still stifles discourse. The recent, tentative beginning of such a discussion only emphasizes how much of a void there has been in our national-policy debate for twenty years.

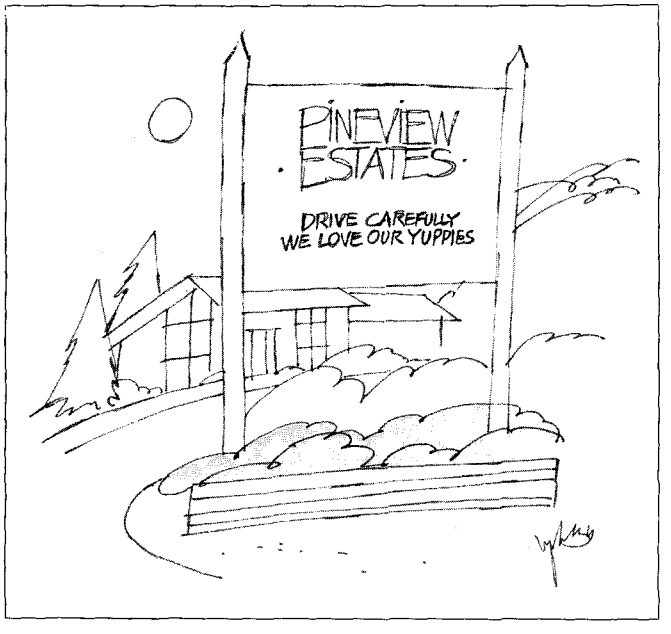
Because the most important part of the problem was for years effectively excluded from discussion, our consideration of poverty and race relations has been nearly as sterile and incompetent as our consideration of foreign policy.

It would be easy to distort what I am saying, or to take it as racism. Fortunately, eminent black scholars such as Professor Glenn Loury have spoken even more bluntly:

> Much of contemporary racial inequality will not go away until failures of family and community, so painfully evident in our inner cities today, are directly addressed. . . . But coming to grips with the social pathologies of the ghetto will require an understanding that, whatever culpability white Americans may have for the history of racism, the responsibility for altering attitudes, values, and norms prevalent in black communities lies inescapably with blacks themselves.

Low national morale among whites has significantly worsened the problems of the black community. The latest, more radical, generation of black leadership has badly served the interests of that community, and it was brought to power partly because the low-national-morale minority of whites thought they were helping blacks by recognizing the radicals as the real black leaders. The result has been that the necessary attention to the problem of the behavior of the black lower class has largely been postponed for a generation, at untold cost to members of that group.

Let me use a horrible analogy to illustrate the broader issue. Imagine a mother whose drug addiction or alcoholism causes her to give birth to a deformed child. As he grows up, she feels the natural sympathy of a mother for a handicapped child plus a terrible guilt for what she did to him. But if she lets him use her guilt to exploit his handicap, instead of holding him to strict standards so that he is forced to overcome his handicap as much as is physically possible, she will be doubling its effects.



The great need of the black lower-class community is to find the strength and discipline needed to be effective in a modern society. This is a terrible task, and no one should belittle the effort and courage and character required. Many blacks have succeeded, their task made harder and their accomplishments denigrated by our reluctance to recognize the weaknesses of lower-class black culture.

WHAT DO these two paralyzing gaps in our public-policy discussion have in common, and how are they related to the low national morale we are positing among a special minority of Americans? One gap comes from a failure to fully accept that the U.S. is basically right and the USSR basically wrong; that our system and government are morally superior to theirs; and that the conflict is basically their fault. The other gap comes from a failure to fully accept that much of black culture is inadequate, inappropriate, and harmful to blacks; that "middle-class morality" and standard English are clearly preferable to "black culture"; that a key component of the task of solving the problem of blacks is the improvement of their own behavior; in brief, that the most critical obstacles to black progress now are within the black community.

The parallel is that in both cases we fail to recognize our own moral and practical merit and do not fully accept the extent to which the basic problem is with "the other guy." Realistic consideration of policy requires that we recognize and accept, understand and be confident about our strengths and virtues. Our policy has been poisoned by our reluctance to do that.

It takes high morale to build a discussion of policy on the premise of one's own superiority. We all have a form of this problem in raising our children. As everyone knows, children are in some ways morally superior to adults. They are also more charming, lively, and creative. Nevertheless they have some bad values and some gross misunderstandings that it is their parents' job to correct. Despite the child's persuasiveness and intensity of feelings, despite his apparent confidence that he is right and his father and mother wrong, unjust, and old-fashioned, the parents' responsibility is to have confidence in their experience, judgment, and values. If parents do not have this confidence, and cannot successfully pretend to have it, then their children will be cheated of the parental guidance they are entitled to, and they are likely to suffer as a result.

Of course neither Russians nor blacks are like children. Nevertheless, the U.S. cannot intelligently go about making policy unless we have a fundamental confidence in our basic values and our understanding of the facts. Such confidence is not inconsistent with adherence to Cromwell's great cry, "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." But people who have low national morale are unable to balance a mature and serene confidence in their nation's right to assert its fundamental interests with a recognition of their country's fallibility and limits. Thus a preoccupation with America's shortcomings has made it enormously difficult to seriously address any of them. □

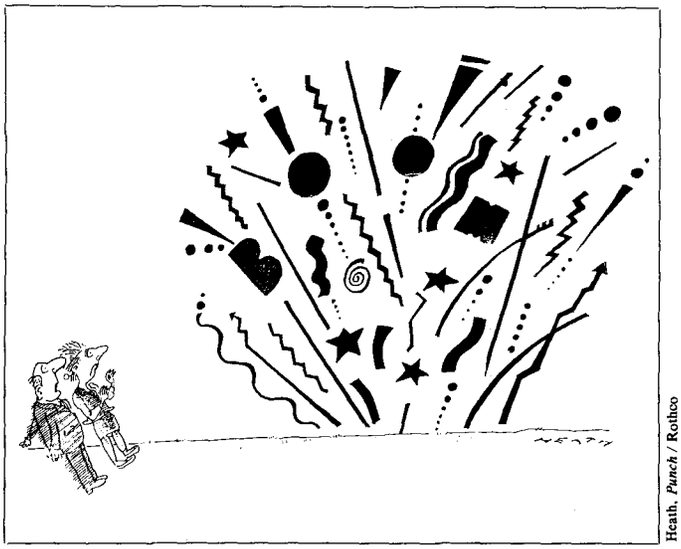
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

helo !!!!

Good News/Bad News

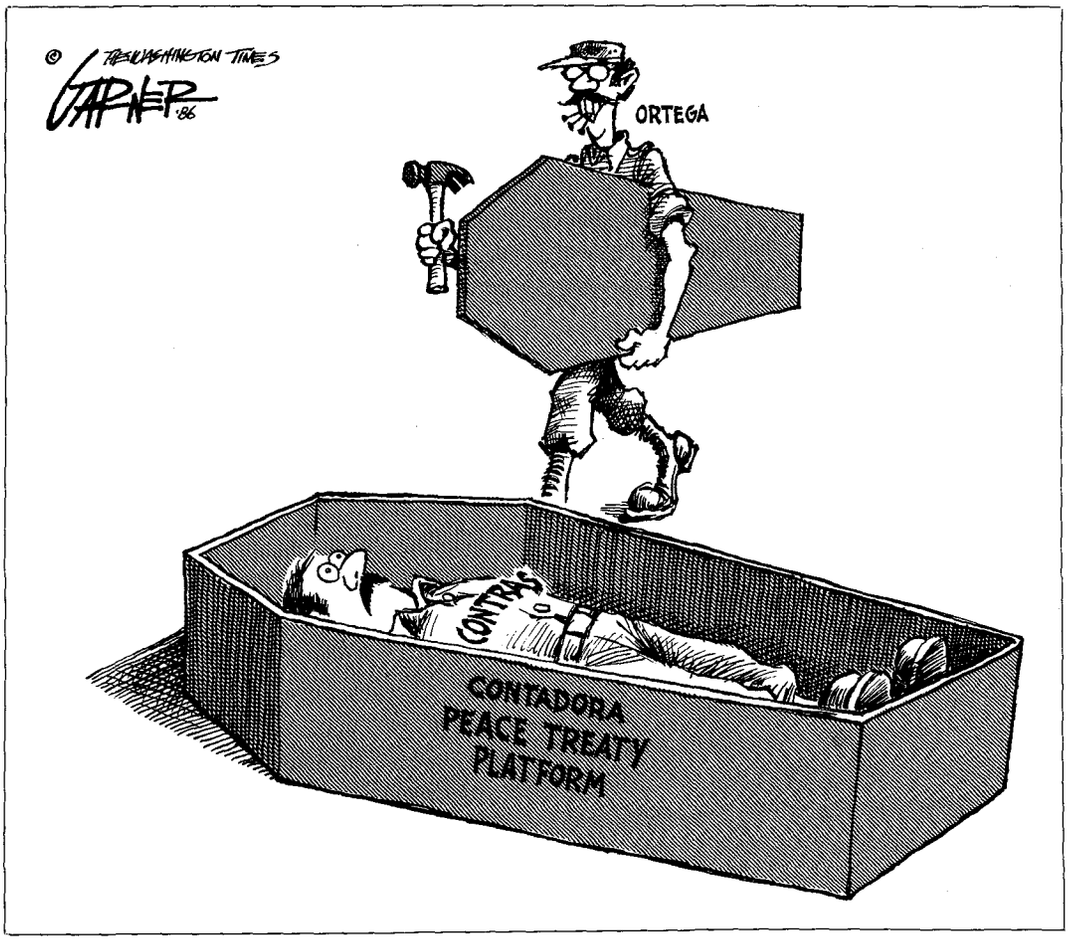
The Dutch, who seemed about to ban
  The beanbag and the bow
When missile madness hit the fan
  And gave them vertigo,
Have, in a crazy turnabout,
  Approved the lethal cruise,
Which gives the President more clout,
  But Mr. Dodd, the blues.

W. H. von Dreele

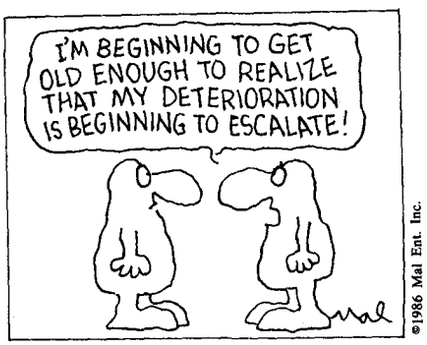


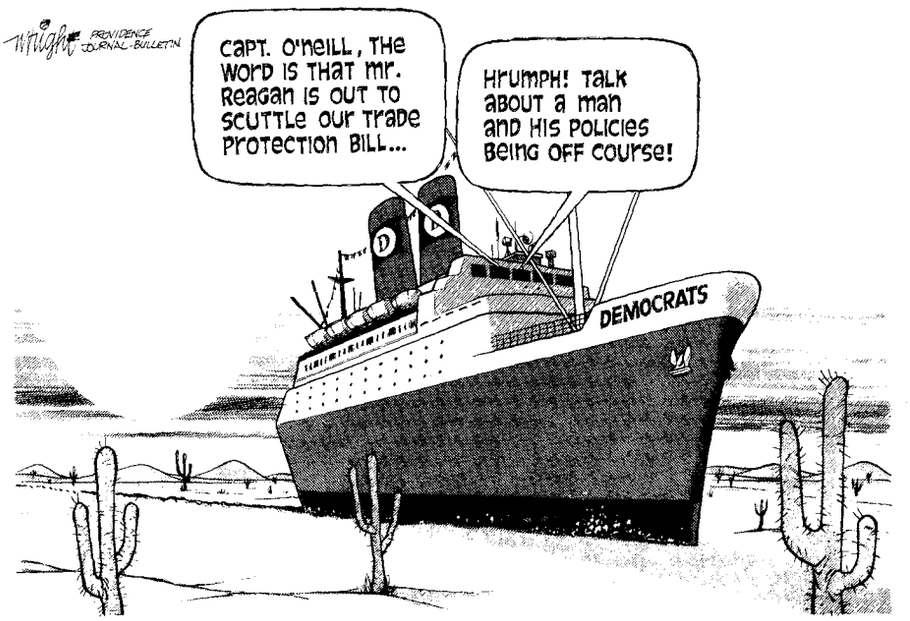
Heath, *Punch* / Rothco

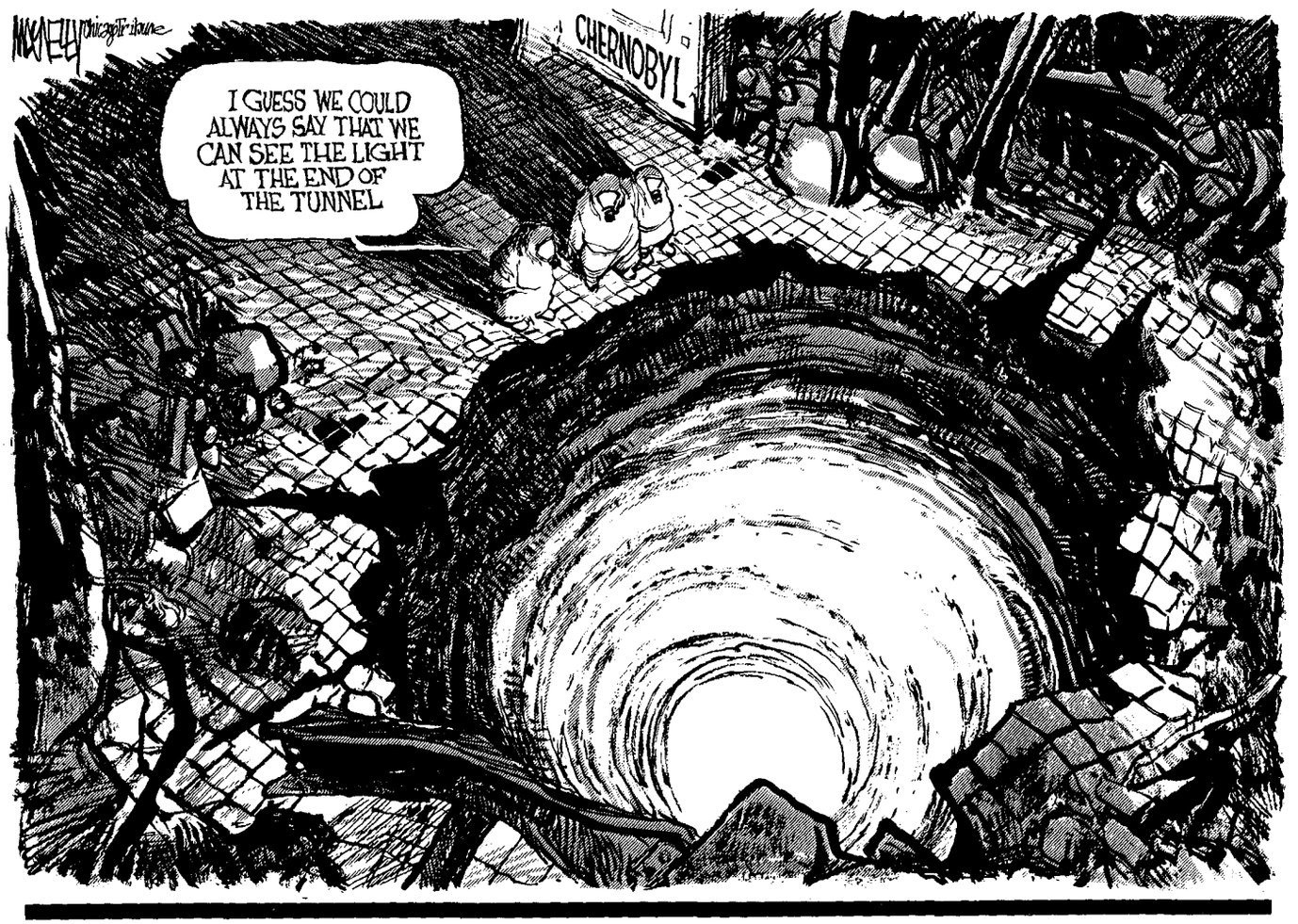
"Oh, my God, a designer bomb!"



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




Wright PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN
CAPT. O'NEILL, THE WORD IS THAT MR. REAGAN IS OUT TO SCUTTLE OUR TRADE PROTECTION BILL...
HRUMPH! TALK ABOUT A MAN AND HIS POLICIES BEING OFF COURSE!
DEMOCRATS



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAN THE AFGHAN REBELS WIN?

ABDUL RAZIQUE—a seasoned warrior at the age of 18—was badly wounded during an attack on a Soviet military post three miles outside Kabul. Nine bullets from an AK-47 ripped through his belly, but Abdul kept charging the enemy, until at last his comrades dragged him to safety. Medical help lay two hundred miles away, an agonizing journey on foot over the towering peaks of the Hindu Kush to the safety of Peshawar, Pakistan. Eight operations later, the doctors had patched Abdul up and released him. When I met Abdul Razique a few weeks later, he needed a ninth operation: His wounds had reopened. But this was no ordinary post-operative mishap. Abdul suffered his relapse, not while convalescing in a refugee camp, but at the front, attacking another Soviet post.

This kind of courage is one reason why, after six years, the Soviet-Afghan war is in stalemate. Indeed, the one constant of the conflict is the tenacity of the Afghan resistance. But whether the Afghans ultimately prevail depends less on the constant of their courage than on the war's three variables: the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and the United States.

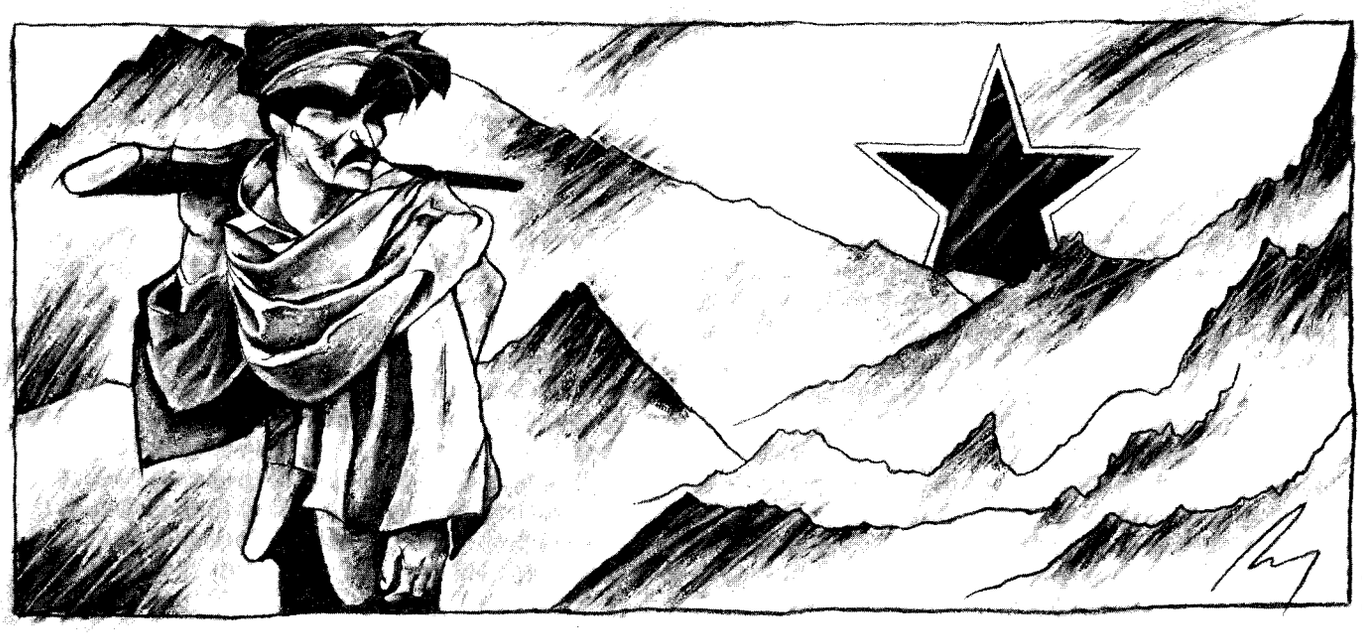
IT IS often said that the war in Afghanistan is the Soviet Union's Vietnam. Superficial similarities do exist—both involved guerrilla tactics—but the differences are more profound. In fact, in some key respects Kremlin leaders are probably wishing Afghanistan *were* another Vietnam. In Afghanistan, the situation on the ground is the reverse of what it was in South Vietnam. Government forces, not insurgents, operate from small, isolated pockets of strength. The Kabul regime's own figures show that its autumn-sowing campaign involved only four million acres of land, which represents only 14 per cent of Afghanistan's total arable land; which, in turn, constitutes only 3 to 6 per cent of Afghanistan's total area. After taking into account the few Communist-held cities, the government controls only 1 or 2 per cent of Afghan territory.

Soviet and Afghan government forces conducted several large-scale operations last year, but all of these operations were essentially defensive. Although Moscow established a few new positions from which to harass resistance supply routes, most Soviet gains were short-lived.

The typical operation is a military sweep. Soviet units enter an area in force and the resistance is pushed back, unless the terrain favors ambushes. Soon the Soviets withdraw the bulk of their soldiers to major bases and set up platoon- or company-sized posts along roads or at key positions. The tide then turns. Afghan resistance forces overrun the small garrisons in night raids. Only if the Soviets keep significant new forces in an area can they hold it.

For the Soviets to win, they must isolate the battlefield. That means they must control the thousand-mile border with Pakistan. That, in turn, means they must deploy tens of thousands more troops in garrisons along the en-

Mr. Strmecki is a research associate of Zbigniew Brzezinski's at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown. He spent three months traveling in Pakistan and Afghanistan in 1985.



Guy Lawrence

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tire length of the border, and they must accept the high cost, in men and money, of preventing arms from reaching the resistance and of keeping Mujahedin from finding sanctuary in Pakistan. According to the Soviet strategy, when the rebels' supplies are exhausted, their will to resist will ebb.

But if the Soviets are to make this strategy work, they will have to do it themselves. Their clients in Kabul are incapable of extending their rule beyond the perimeter of the nearest Soviet base. In Vietnam, the United States was able to turn the war over to the South Vietnamese armed forces. But Kabul's army, which numbered eighty thousand troops before the Communist coup in April 1978 and which now has perhaps twenty thousand effective soldiers, cannot fill that role. Desertion is rampant. Officers plant mines around army bases, not so much to keep Mujahedin out as to keep Kabul's conscripts in.

If the Soviets are to win in Afghanistan, the price will be high. "Moscow should have learned from studying what happened to America in Vietnam that armor and firepower are not the answer in an unconventional war," one Afghan resistance commander told me. "You can win such a war only by deploying massive infantry—and even that is not very easy in a mountainous country like Afghanistan."

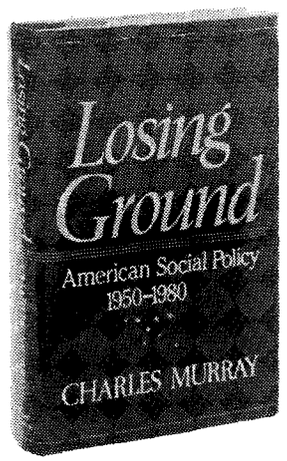
So far, the Soviets' strategy in Afghanistan has been to get someone else to win the war for them. They first tried to win with Kabul's army. That bid failed. They have now turned to a strategy of intimidating Pakistan into cutting off supplies to the resistance.

In 1985, Soviet and Afghan-government aircraft violated Pakistani airspace more than two hundred times, conducting air strikes that killed dozens of people. Although Pakistan's armed forces have reportedly shot down two intruding aircraft, the incursions continue.

Pakistan is pivotal in determining the outcome of the Soviet-Afghan war. Large-scale foreign assistance to the Mujahedin is impossible without Pakistan's cooperation. President Zia's pro-assistance policy remains firm, but Soviet propaganda plays to a receptive audience among the Pakistani business, academic, and political elite.

Even though Gallup polls in 1984 showed that only 11 per cent of the Pakistani people want their government to recognize the Kabul government—the first step toward striking a deal with Moscow—all but one of the major opposition parties advocate doing so. A majority of the national assembly and even a few members of Zia's cabinet reportedly favor direct negotiations with Kabul.

"Pakistanis think as Americans do about the Soviet Union—we do not trust the Russians," a prominent Pakistani businessman told me. "But how can Pakistan stand up to Moscow? President Zia has created too much antagonism with the Soviets. There should be some kind of accommodation. He should strike a deal with the Soviet Union and the Kabul regime—



DOES WELFARE HURT THE POOR?

LOSING GROUND

by Charles Murray

This profoundly influential book explains how the welfare state not only failed to help the poor, but often made things worse for the disadvantaged.

Murray's breakthrough work has had explosive impact on discussions of social policy in the '80s, and the reverberations will echo beyond the decade. This is the book social democrat Michael Harrington has called "dangerous," while such conservatives as Milton Friedman, William Buckley, Jack Kemp and Patrick Buchanan have hailed it as "brilliant."

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

from LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Order *CU0572 $10.95

ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext 500

Charge your Visa or MasterCard
• Continental U.S. •
24 hours a day • 7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. NAP
532 Broadway, 7th Floor, NY 10012

Please send me _____ copies of **Losing Ground** (order *CU0572) for $10.95 each, plus $1.00 postage & handling ($2.00 for foreign orders).

☐ Send me your 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $_____.

☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ Master Card.

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

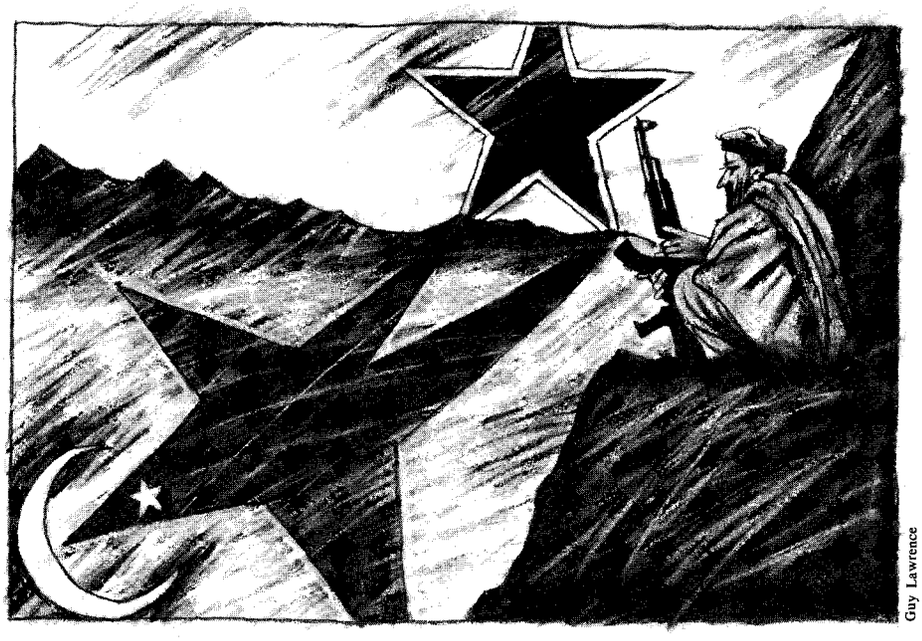
Signature _____

Name (Please Print) _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Guy Lawrence

'You don't touch us, and we won't bother you.' "

What troubles the Pakistanis most about the Soviet threat is the fear that when the chips are down, America will fold. American-Pakistani ties were close in the 1950s and early 1960s; President Ayub Khan often remarked that the country was America's 51st state. That changed when the United States failed to support Pakistan in its two subsequent wars with India. Washington imposed a crippling embargo on shipments of arms, ammunition, and spare parts to Pakistan during the 1965 war, and remained formally neutral, though "tilting" toward Pakistan, in 1971. The resulting disillusionment has been hard to overcome.

"Pakistan should not go too far out on a limb," said one Karachi businessman, "because the United States is undependable. This is the case even with Reagan in office. There are verbal assurances, of course. But what would happen in a crisis? Since Vietnam, there is a lingering feeling in America that the United States should not get involved in a land war in Asia. It is unlikely that the United States would get involved if Pakistan got into trouble."

Appeasing Moscow in Afghanistan appeals to many Pakistanis, but few are willing to face up to the strategic consequences of appeasement: If the Soviet Union ever consolidated its control over Afghanistan, its ability to pressure or subvert Pakistan would vastly increase. Thus, difficult as its present position may be and undependable as the United States may be, Pakistan may find there is no better alternative to helping the U.S. support the rebels.

AMERICAN POLICY plays a central role in the Soviet-Afghan stalemate. It affects both the ability of Pakistan to withstand Soviet pressure and the costs of Moscow's military occupation.

Pakistan faces three threats to its security: 1) direct Soviet military pressure through Afghanistan; 2) indirect Soviet efforts to exploit the grievances of Pakistani national minorities, such as the Baluchi; and 3) direct military pressure from India, perhaps even as part of a two-front attack in concert with Soviet forces. With its close ties to India, the Kremlin is in a position to exploit all three. Thus, if the United States expects Pakistan to continue to channel outside assistance to the Afghan resistance, Washington must be sensitive to these concerns.

Today, the second and third seem manageable. India appeared to be on the verge of a move against Pakistan in October 1984. After a series of unannounced Indian maneuvers and blatant Soviet threats, Pakistan's nightmare of a two-front attack seemed about to come true. The Pakistani army called up reserves, and its officers wondered not whether but when the war would begin. But since the assassination of Indira Gandhi, tensions between India and Pakistan have abated, and recent meetings between Zia and Rajiv Gandhi appear to have made some genuine progress. Even so, American policymakers must remember that Moscow is only part of Pakistan's security problem. If Washington reduces military aid to Islamabad in order to court New Delhi, Pakistan's confidence in the United States will slip—and that, in turn, will reduce Pakistan's willingness to risk a potential confrontation with the Soviet Union over Afghanistan.

National separatism has been a threat to Pakistan since its founding in 1947. Pakistan's half-dozen largest national minorities resent the Punjabi majority's domination of the central government and the army, offering what may seem like a classic opportunity for Soviet troublemaking. The danger of a successful insurgency in Baluchistan, however, seems overstated. Pakistan's population of 94 million towers above Baluchistan's three million. Moreover, an armed separatist movement in Baluchistan failed miserably in the early 1970s.

Nevertheless, Moscow remains the principal security threat, and Pakistan cannot resist the Soviet Union alone. Under security guarantees issued in 1959 and reaffirmed in 1979, the United States pledged to assist Islamabad in the event of a Communist attack. A $3.2-billion, five-year United States aid program—including transfers of F-16 fighters and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles—has significantly helped Pakistan's position.

Since this has not enabled Pakistan to stop the persistent intrusions of Afghan air-force jets and helicopters, more military assistance is needed. This must include transfers of some hardware, such as airborne radar, to which India has objected in the past. Without such assistance, however, Pakistani ambivalence about assisting the Afghan resistance is certain to continue or even grow. The fact that Washington granted only $4.03 billion of Islamabad's $6.4-billion aid request for 1988 to 1993 raises concerns in official Pakistani circles.

ONLY IF THE already-high military and political costs of Moscow's occupation become unaffordable will the Kremlin withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. Some observers insist that Gorbachev has been giving signals that the Soviet Union is prepared to settle for a political solution.

(Continues on page 54)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUSTRIA'S AMERICAN ELECTIONS

In the first round of the Austrian presidential elections, held on May 4, the candidate of the Socialist Party was Dr. Kurt Steyrer; to the right of him, the People's Party put up Kurt Waldheim, former Secretary General of the UN; and there were two minor-party candidates: a distinguished-looking lady who tried to rally all those voters disgusted with the big parties, and a patriotic surgeon. In this four-way race, Waldheim got one-third of a percentage point less than the full 50 per cent required for victory, making a second, "decisional" voting between the two main candidates necessary. Thus the unsavory campaign was extended for five more weeks, until June 8.

In the beginning it seemed obvious that Dr. Steyrer was bound to win. Behind him stood the largest party, a Santa Claus party supporting the provider state. Moreover, since he is attractive and the majority of voters are women, the "fleeting Eros" (Ernst Jünger's expression) comes fully into play. He does have two weak points: He is never seen with his wife, and he has left the Catholic Church.

Kurt Waldheim has a pretty wife, but very little popular appeal. Once before, he was defeated in a presidential election. He is ambitious, and Austrians dislike go-getters. Thus, he was a sure loser.

But then something happened. A former editor of an Austrian Communist paper hinted to members of the World Jewish Congress that Waldheim had been a Nazi, which he truly never was. (Simon Wiesenthal, the famous Nazi-hunter, declared publicly that he had been approached by Socialists—whose names he refuses to reveal—for possible information concerning Waldheim's "Nazi past.") In fact, Waldheim's father, a Dollfuss-supporter, was brutally persecuted by the Nazis. In a totalitarian state one cannot avoid having contacts with the one-party regime: Waldheim did, on a few occasions, ride horses belonging to an SA formation. But he never joined the party.

That being proved, the smear campaign changed tactics: Waldheim now became a war criminal. After being wounded in Russia, Waldheim—a mere lieutenant—served as liaison officer with the Italians in the war against Tito's Communist Partisans (who had committed unspeakable horrors). One must remember that up to July 1944, membership in the National Socialist Party and service in the *Wehrmacht* (army) were incompatible. The army, in the words of a common saying, was "the shortest way into exile." Did Waldheim know about the deportations of Jews in Salonika? He denied this but admitted to having known of those further north. But even had he, by hearsay, known about them, what precisely could he have done? Retiring President Rudolf Kirchschläger—a doctor of law and former judge, and a Socialist—studied the records submitted by the UN and the World Jewish Congress and thereupon absolved Kurt Waldheim of all guilt.

Younger Austrians—those who grew up after the Second World War—are as incapable of forming rational judgments about the Third Reich, unless they happen to be first-rate scholars, as they would be about the French Terror or the Napoleonic wars. Still, many reacted quite automatically and emotionally against this foreign "Jewish-American" interference. The idiotic speech of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan was extensively quoted by our press. Hence the boomerang at the polls. On May 4, even a number of Socialists voted for the former Secretary General of the United Nations.

One can imagine how desperate Austrian Jews are about the whole affair. Two Jewish friends of mine, both exiles during the Brown period, both university professors and certainly no supporters of Waldheim, were both furious at the American assault. One of them even cited to me Austria's first Socialist president, Karl Seitz: "Jews, as a rule, are extremely intelligent, but if a Jew is stupid, his stupidity is boundless."

Conventional wisdom held that the attacks coming from New York were the revenge for Waldheim's role in the UN where, in order to survive politically, he more often than not tried to show himself "impartial" by siding with the Second or Third World against the First. Yet, for precisely this reason, any appearance of tardy retribution should have been avoided. Many Israelis in responsible positions committed the same fatal mistake. (The *Jerusalem Post* and a few others wisely refused to play the game.)

Personal Vendetta?

The "foreign intervention" was not only a blow to American prestige in Austria, but also a boon to the surviving anti-Semites and neo-Nazis who really hoped for a defeat of Waldheim. He is indeed not *their* man. His defeat would have been explained in the best Brown manner as being due to a "Jewish conspiracy" organized by the all powerful *Weltjudentum*. America, Jewry, democracy—all would have suffered a mighty blow.

There is a curious sidelight to the Austrian case: Two former presidents of the Federal German Republic, Walter Scheel and Karl Carstens, were, unlike Waldheim, *admittedly* card-carrying members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. But who in America, Jew or Gentile, protested against them? What politician bade the U.S. Department of Justice prohibit them from visiting the United States? Personal vendetta is the only reasonable explanation in the case of the former Secretary General of the United Nations. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GOOD FIGHT

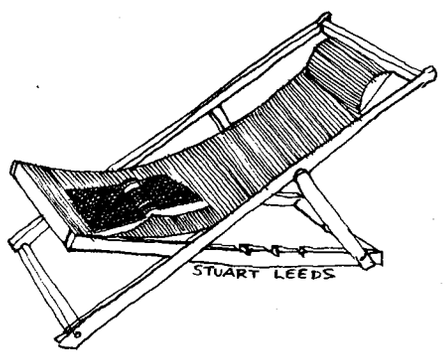
Jeffrey Hart

The Bloody Crossroads: Where Literature and Politics Meet, by Norman Podhoretz (Simon & Schuster, 220 pp., $16.95)

NORMAN PODHORETZ studied at Columbia with Lionel Trilling, then won a fellowship to Cambridge and worked with F. R. Leavis. Both of these modern masters are present in this book, at once as explicit subject—the title itself comes from Trilling—and as critical example. Trilling was a superb cultural critic, specifically of the liberal culture of his time, to which he had a peculiar relationship of loyalty and loathing. Leavis was at his best in dealing directly with a literary text.

Podhoretz does both things splendidly. After abandoning literary criticism for many years, he here returns to it, and he performs with great skill its central task: locating the sources of power in a literary text and demonstrating the ways in which they work. There is no literary critic writing today who pursues that enterprise more impressively. In strength of intellect, lucidity, and civilized pertinence, Podhoretz's critical writing is exhilarating, and the more so when one comes to it from some of the . . . well, some of the material that pours from the academic presses today. Trilling and Leavis are indeed presences here, and behind them the major tradition of humane criticism that stretches back from Edmund Wilson through Arnold and Hazlitt. Read Podhoretz on Camus, on Orwell, on Henry Adams, on Solzhenitsyn, on Kissinger, on Kundera. His assessment of Kissinger as a prose master is utterly persuasive, as is his disagreement with him on important matters of policy. The metamorphosis of Kissinger as a writer between his early academic works and his memoirs is as startling in its way as the change in Yeats. His essay on Kundera sent me at once to *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, a masterly novel that captures the eerie emotional music of a culture under pressure from totalitarianism.

Podhoretz's skill with a text recalls Leavis; he combines it with a cultural criticism that reminds us of Trilling and may be seen as an extension of Trilling's critical project. Those famous lines from the preface to *The Liberal Imagination* (1950) about liberalism constituting our sole intellectual tradition have so often been quoted that I will forbear citation here. But set beside some much darker sentences written about a year earlier, they define Trilling's central problem. He observed that "Stalinism becomes endemic in the American middle class as soon as that class begins to think; it is a cultural Stalinism, independent of any political belief." And he went on to hazard the opinion that the cultural ideas of the liberal ADA would not differ much from those of the Stalinist PAC of the CIO. What Trilling saw to his dismay was that the well-meaning bourgeois in whom the light of thought begins to flicker reaches tropistically for large moral simplicities, for slogans, for immediately applicable cultural and political power, and reflexively sympathizes with the liberals-in-a-hurry of the totalitarian Left.



In his extended critique of such a mentality, however, Trilling was seldom, if ever, confrontational. He did not make enemies. He made the liberal philistines uneasy, but he did not give them the chance to lay a glove on him. Though he inspected the "bloody crossroads" where literature and politics meet, he was not at all eager to do battle there, and he was protected by his urbanity, by a certain elusiveness, and by the good manners of the academy as it then was.

I take it that Podhoretz views our cultural circumstance today as far worse than it was in 1948 when Trilling uttered that "dark thought." As he sees it, a critique of democracy and capitalism was launched a century or so ago by a small minority of progressives, clergymen, artists, and intellectuals, and this critique, through the agency of mass higher education, has now become a pernicious habit of respectable feeling. The cultural Stalinism identified by Trilling has metastasized and brought us the grotesqueries of the anti-Western anchorman, the Marxist reporter, the countercultural publisher's editor, the ethnophobic advertising man. The academy has become a generator of junk thought.

Indeed, the situation may even be worse than Podhoretz realizes. The contemporary academy is populated by people who believe that they have contributed to the discussion when

Paul Krza is Rock Springs bureau chief for the Casper [Wyoming] Star-Tribune.

Jeffrey Meyers is now completing The Biographer's Art *and* Manic Power: Robert Lowell and His Circle *for Macmillan (London).*

Jacob Neusner is University Professor and Ungerleider Distinguished Scholar of Judaic Studies at Brown University.

G. B. Tennyson is a professor of English at the University of California at Los Angeles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they bandy about terms like "racist," "sexist," "elitist," and "homophobic." As Jeane Kirkpatrick said so memorably, this ethnophobic mentality routinely blames America first. Its *premise* is implicitly suicidal. If, in an impish moment, you assert that we ought to promote democracy in Nicaragua, or that you suspect homosexuality to be abnormal, you are likely to receive the Fascist of the Year Award. The 1950s Columbia of Trilling and his student Podhoretz was a temple of intellect by comparison.

Podhoretz is a skillful diagnostician of this moral disease, and he has a prescription, which amounts to a theory of the Saving Remnant. After all, the mentality of Western suicide was launched in the form of a minority critique decades ago, and then grew to its present proportions. A minority counter-critique, launched today, may eventually likewise grow into a saving force. The minority around *Commentary* and *The Public Interest* are engaged in laying down just such a counter-critique, and in time, through force of mind and indeed—old-fashioned word—character, they will return the culture to sanity. It may well work. Let us pray. But meanwhile we do have this magnificent book. □

VICTORIA VICTRIX

G. B. Tennyson

Marriage and Morals among the Victorians: Essays by Gertrude Himmelfarb (Knopf, 253 pp., $19.95)

THE WORD "Victorian," especially as adjective, calls up to most modern minds something like the following definition from a desk dictionary: "pertaining to English life and sentiment during the reign of Queen Victoria; esp. fastidious, prudish, or narrow in opinion or expression, particularly regarding conduct." It was not ever thus. The OED (compiled, of course, during the Victorian era) confines itself to the purely factual and chronological. The so-called Webster's First of 1909 also carries no pejorative in its definition. But by the time of Webster's Second in 1934 and ever thereafter, Bloomsbury had wreaked its revenge on its fathers; prudish and sexually repressive had become part of the meaning of the word. As Gertrude Himmelfarb quotes from Lord Acton: "Ideas have a radiation and development, an ancestry and posterity of their own, in which men play the part of godfathers and godmothers more than that of legitimate parents." In this case we have Lytton Strachey as godfather and Virginia Woolf as godmother, neither of them any sort of parents in the real world.

But there have always been dissenters from the received modern wisdom about the Victorians, and in the half-century-long struggle in the academy to rehabilitate things Victorian, no one has done greater service than Gertrude Himmelfarb. In previous studies of the Victorians, especially her studies of Acton, Darwin, and Mill, as well as in her penetrating *Victorian Minds*, Miss Himmelfarb has done much to clear away the Bloomsbury accretions that have, like Lytton Strachey confronting the hypothetical German soldier bent on raping his sister, interposed themselves between Victorians and moderns. The current collection of essays in part continues Miss Himmelfarb's estimable practice of showing the value of things Victorian, but it also ranges farther afield and may, by its misleading title, promise some readers something other than what it delivers.

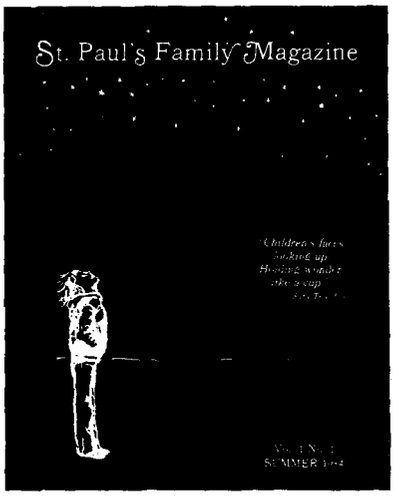
"Marriage and Morals among the Victorians" is actually the title of the first essay in the volume, a review-essay sparked by Phyllis Rose's *Parallel Lives*, a recent, reductionist study of five Victorian marriages. Telling as Miss Himmelfarb's treatment of this subject is, it does not constitute the main concern of the collection. Elsewhere in this volume "marriage," Victorian or otherwise, figures only occasionally, and "morals" has philosophical more than social or sexual connotations. Four of the 11 essays are not on matters properly Victorian at all, but on such pre-Victorians as Jeremy Bentham (two essays) and William Godwin, and on the twentieth-century British political thinker Michael Oakeshott. The remaining seven treat some distinctly Victorian matters, such as Darwinism, the Webbs, and Victorian religion and science, but they also range from the pre-Victorian Clapham Sect to the post-Victorian Bloomsberries (as they coyly called themselves).

But take away what may well be a publisher's would-be suggestive choice of volume title, subdue all thoughts

Why do conservatives buy liberal magazines for their children?

Conserve our culture with

St. Paul's Family Magazine



This children's magazine is orthodox, humorous, fun, challenging and beautifully illustrated. (A quarterly for children 7 to 97.)

Finally! A quality magazine for children.
National Catholic Register

. . . a well-conceived and much needed Christian magazine of quality.
The Anglican Digest

. . . a journal of Christian culture for young people.
The University Bookman

Send $10 for a one-year subscription to: *St. Paul's Family Magazine,* P.O. Box 772, Fort Scott, KS 66701

VISA 1-800-523-5562 MasterCard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ LEFT OVER FROM MAY: *A Golf Story: Bobby Jones, Augusta National, and the Masters Tournament* (Atheneum, $29.95), by Charles Price, is an interesting history of the golf course on which the Masters is played, as well as the development of the tournament itself, by the former Grand Slam champion who played a role in both.

☐ MORE JUNE TITLES: *The Passion of Ayn Rand* (Doubleday, $19.95), by Barbara Branden, is the first major biography of the controversial novelist and screenplay writer who invented the philosophy of "Objectivism."

In *Norton I: Emperor of the United States* (Dodd, Mead, $16.95), William Drury recounts the history of one Joshua A. Norton, a Jew from South Africa who arrived in San Francisco during the Gold Rush. After living for a time as a successful merchant, he suffered a series of severe financial crises, which dislocated his mind to the point where, declaring himself Norton I, Emperor, he took to the city streets, decked out in "imperial" garb and issuing proclamations to the newspapers. In these activities he was observed by Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, and Robert Louis Stevenson, all of whom found the opportunity to write about him.

The Happy Man (Random House, $12.95), by Donald Hall, is the poet's eighth collection of poems. It will not disappoint admirers of the previous seven.

In *First Light: Sojourns with People of the Outer Hebrides, the Sierra Madre, the Himalayas, and Other Remote Places* (Chelsea Green, $29.95), Ethan Hubbard captures his travels among relatively primitive cultures, moving with a backpack and a camera, with which he has taken first-rate pictures well represented in this volume.

☐ COMING IN JULY: *Independent: A Biography of Lewis W. Douglas* (Knopf, $30), by Robert Paul Browder and Thomas G. Smith, is the history of the son of a rich mining family in Arizona, who began as a legislator in the Arizona Statehouse and the U.S. Congress, and went on to become, in succession, FDR's budget director in the early New Deal (in which role he argued against public works and other spending), head of wartime shipping during World War II, U.S. Ambassador to England, and president of McGill University and of Mutual of New York. —CW

of salacious revelations about the domestic habits of the Victorians, and you have a collection of extraordinarily intelligent essays, held together not by a single thread of argument but by the sustained moral imagination of an acute student of nineteenth-century life and thought. Indeed, Miss Himmelfarb finds that "moral imagination"—a phrase she came upon first in Lionel Trilling and only later discovered was originally Burke's—is what distinguishes the great Victorians generally. It also denotes, as much as any single concept, what separates us from those earnest Victorians so facilely derided by Bloomsbury.

Whether she is casting her searching gaze upon the rationalist follies of Jeremy Bentham or upon the modest, sensible, lower-case-conservative vision of Michael Oakeshott, Miss Himmelfarb herself exercises a moral imagination that would do credit to the best of the Victorian minds. Thus in the essay "Who Now Reads Macaulay?" she scrutinizes not only the great Whig historian but several of his fellows, like Freeman, Froude, and Stubbs, and finds in their often conflicting views a shared underlying conception of history as fundamentally political history, history of a polity, a far loftier conception than modern notions of history as the essence of innumerable pedestrian lives.

The real delight of this volume, however, is to see Miss Himmelfarb at work demythologizing precisely those figures that the modern world has held to be worthy of some respect, figures like Bentham and Godwin, for example, to say nothing of the Bloomsburyites themselves. Her two essays on Bentham reveal not only the banality of his writing (Bentham must surely have the most deadening prose style of any writer, not excluding compilers of telephone books), but the self-serving and even at times deceitful character of his thought, especially his thought about his own works and achievement. Miss Himmelfarb inspects closely what she calls "Bentham's Utopia," a plan for taking care of pauperism and unemployment that he designed as a companion and indeed constituent part of his "Panopticon," which in turn was his plan for a modern prison. Despite the straight-faced glorification of Bentham by generations of subsequent commentators as a "great humanist," the grandiose scheme for imprisoning one million of the nine million inhabitants of Britain could bring a gleam to the eye of no one but a commissar. Which, we finally understand, is what, beneath the skin, so many of our liberal practitioners would be.

It is both hilarious and sobering to find Bentham so ably dissected, as it is to see Miss Himmelfarb at work on the equally fatuous and personally yet more ludicrous William Godwin or Beatrice Webb. It is also heartening to see her stand up for the moral imagination as it manifested itself in such Victorians as George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, the former with her solemn proclamation of the "peremptory and absolute" nature of Duty, despite her loss of religious belief, and the latter with a mind too fine to be violated by "an idea so gross as Darwinism." Miss Himmelfarb's essays make clear that there was nothing wrong with either the Victorians' morality or their imaginations. It is we moderns who have banished morality from imagination. We are now in danger of losing even imagination itself. ☐

NOT SO SPECIAL AFTER ALL

Jacob Neusner

A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today, by Charles E. Silberman (Summit, 458 pp., $19.95)

AMERICAN JEWS now witness their fourth and fifth generations in this country. The immigrants, who came in their millions from 1880 to 1920, marked the beginning. Their children, who flourished from World War I to after World War II, settled down. Their grandchildren, the third generation, flourished from World War II to the present, and their great-grandchildren are now entering positions of leadership in Jewry. Charles Silberman takes stock of where Jews have been and what it all means.

His book is a testament to the amazing opening of American society that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's how you can make a Conservative out of someone you know

Put *National Review* in his hands. It's about the quickest way you can find to turn *a potential* conservative into an *actual* conservative. We know, because many of our regular subscribers have been doing just that for years with great success. Of course, we don't expect you to brave hail or high water to do it—we'll be more than happy to take care of that part ourselves. What we *can't* do is locate these potential conservatives. We don't know who they are, but *you* do. They're your friends, relatives, neighbors, business and social acquaintances. Think about it for a moment, right now. Pick someone you know (who doesn't already get NR) who thinks pretty much as you do about taxes, the state of the economy, big government, his children's education, etc. He may not realize it yet but he'd be vitally interested in what conservatives have to say about these things (and where do conservatives say it better than in *National Review*?). Rip out the card facing this page, NOW, and use it to introduce NR to your potential conservative at the special introductory rate of only $17.95 for the next 15 issues. He'll be glad you did. So will you. So will we. You don't often get a chance to make so many people happy with one stroke of the pen. So do it now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has taken place since World War II. Second-generation Jews confronted a miserable world, in which if they affirmed their Jewishness they were clannish, and if they did not they were pushy. Whole industries and professions closed their doors to that generation. Entire cities were famed for their anti-Semitism—the Minneapolis Auto Club would not admit Jewish members. Overseas, the disaster in Germany pushed Jews into the spotlight of an international crisis. Not a few believed the Jews had brought it on themselves. Political career? Forget it. Engineering? No Jews admitted. Banking and insurance? For Leeds, not Levy. Law? Only in a "Jewish" firm. On and on the list ran. Second-generation Jews, for their part, threw off the marks of alien mothers and fathers, speaking English, not Yiddish, abandoning the distinctive practices of the faith of Judaism, seeking an undifferentiated society that would make room for them. But what they found in the main, in the liberal circles of the nonsectarians, was other Jews.

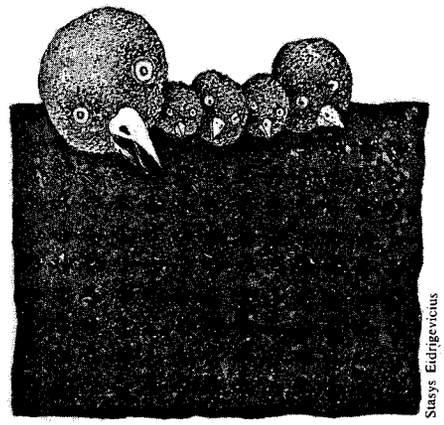
The dramatic shift from the second to the third generation may be stated very simply. Every door closed to the second generation opened to the children, and that is what Silberman marks and celebrates. With eight Jewish U.S. senators and well over a score of representatives, Jews find open to them political careers of which their parents' generation could not dream. But that is only part of the picture. Look at Irving Shapiro, former president of du Pont—a paradox Silberman celebrates for many pages. And that tells the whole story.

Silberman's is a pro-American book, a celebration of the achievements of the world's freest, most democratic society, the most idealistic nation in all of human history. He believes, and proves, that Jews—the indicators and barometers of the social climate—can make it in this country. And by making it, he does not mean attaining economic success or social acceptance; he means living freely and by choice as Jews, and enjoying the full respect of their neighbors. He maintains that Jews can and do preserve a powerful sense of self-identification, a difference, a tradition of their own. The second generation wanted to forget the things the third generation succeeded in remembering and handing on to the fourth. The second generation wanted to obliterate marks of distinctiveness altogether, the third generation wanted to hide them, and the fourth? They try to remember everything, and pick and choose what they like: free and self-respecting Jews in a free society, at last. Who would have dreamed it? Not my grandmother, the last of the Yiddish-speaking Neusners; not my father, a Zionist and a Jewish publisher, who celebrated the Sabbath by taking me to the movies; not my Jewishly self-hating mother, who rewarded me for good work with a bacon, lettuce, and tomato sandwich in the cafeteria in G. Fox & Co. in Hartford. What did the third generation know of Judaism? And what did it want to know? But it remembered, we remembered, and our children know first-hand what we knew only by making up memories for ourselves out of our Scriptures. We became Jews out of books. They learned from our example.

Anti-Semitism? Silberman does not view it as an acute problem, and even in its chronic form, it does not present a major problem. He cites public-opinion polls to prove his case. Discrimination against Jews? Uncommon, and nowhere that matters. Assimilation and intermarriage? Has Silberman not heard of "the vanishing American Jew" of the 1970s? Indeed so, but he maintains—and here his ideas stand on the research of such great sociologists as Brown's Calvin Goldscheider—that outmarriage leads to in-marriage, and the upshot is only positive from a demographic viewpoint. American Jews are more than maintaining their numbers and will continue to do so.

Is this a persuasive book? Yes. Silberman is a first-rate writer, the book is colorful and rich, a real pleasure to read.

Will this book last? No, because journalism never lasts, and this book is no more than journalism; it lacks the intellectual strength that only first-rate scholarship can provide. And also because the premise of the book is that the Jews are "a certain people," different from others. In no detail, however, does Silberman systematically place the Jews into the American context. So we never learn what is special about the Jews and what is not.



Stasys Eidrigevicius

To read this book, you would scarcely remember that America treated other groups not much better than it did the Jews, and some much worse—the blacks, for one. Consequently, Silberman conveys the impression that everyone was out to get us Jews in particular. That was not the case. In fact everyone was out to get everyone else: It was America in an age of turning. The old Northern and Western European ethnic dominance was giving way not only to Jews but to all the newer Southern and Eastern European migrants, to Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox, as well as to cultures of Africa and Latin America. What happened after World War II? Silberman maintains that the impact of the massacre of European Jewry in death factories changed peoples' minds about the Jews. But other Americans also found doors open that had formerly been nailed shut—even in due course the blacks.

World War II marked the turning of America back toward its old, deeply egalitarian and democratic roots. The Jews benefited, but so did everyone else. America in its age of world leadership reached into its resources of idealism and made for itself a better society than it had ever been: a city on the hill. That was the ideal, and the reality was not so bad either—and was, and is, always getting better. So there is nothing so peculiar about the experience of "a certain people," and that, I think, is the flaw in Silberman's book. Contrast "roots" and ethnic affirmation, the commonplaces of the 1970s and the 1980s, with the re-Judaization of the third and fourth generations, and show me the difference. I see none. The blacks want soul food, the Jews want kosher food, and everybody eats pizza and "Chinese." America, America.

Does that mean the Jews are merely like everybody else—only more so? I do not know, but Silberman does not either. Why not? Because he does not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tell us what he thinks is special about the Jews and their social experience or what he thinks is shared among various groups. He does not define his categories and let us in on his program of research. Silberman assumes that the Jews are "a people apart," and he is wrong. His premise is wrong because he has not worked out his problems of method and conception. Journalists never do—that's why they're paid more than professors.

Still, it's a wonderful book, and the best account of American Jews in the now-dying third generation that I have ever read. You don't have to be Jewish to enjoy this book. It's a celebration of America, and everyone should join in. □

WASTE

Jeffrey Meyers

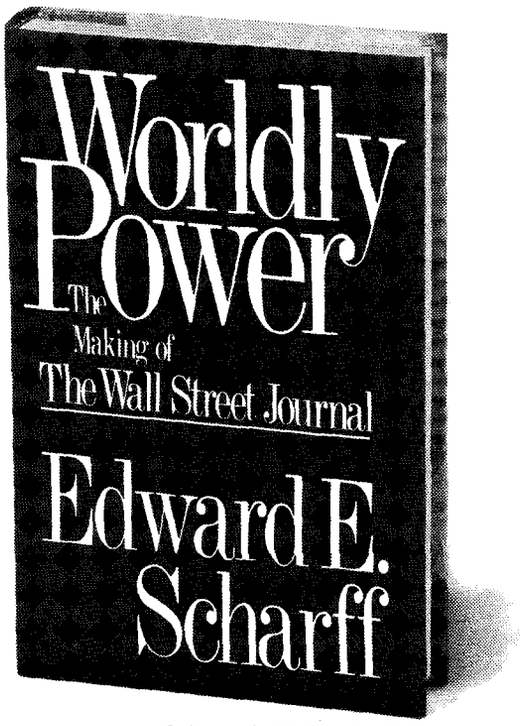
The Collected Letters, by Dylan Thomas, edited by Paul Ferris (Macmillan, 982 pp., $45)

DYLAN THOMAS, who died in an alcoholic coma at the age of 39, declared: "I hold a beast, an angel, and a madman in me." Astonishingly precocious and fluent as well as tedious and verbose, he admitted: "I get high-flown and flyblown and flyfalutin if I try very consciously not to be self-conscious." Cunning and clumsy ("I'm in town to wheedle . . . and live on guile and beer"), he was both a genial genius and a squalid sponger—as exciting and exasperating a correspondent as he was a friend. His honest account of his own defects of character included melancholy, bad temper, silences and disappearances, shyness and gaucheness, boredom and boorishness, "soul-burn, heartdoubt, headspin," ignorance, whimsicality, and sloth.

Thomas required turbulence and even chaos to write, as others needed calm. He drank heavily to stimulate his writing, to ease himself down after a creative spurt, and to help forget his periods of sterility. Suffering devastating hangovers, he complained: "I have the villain of a headache, my eyes are two piss holes in the sand, my tongue is fish-and-chip paper."

He was expert at writing amusing apologies for outrageous behavior, often accompanied by a compensatory poem.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL'S GREATEST STORY.



ITS OWN.

William E. Simon calls *Worldly Power* "a lively and informative account of the far-sighted men who made (*The Journal*) into the leading business publication in the world... entertaining and highly readable."

You're sure to agree, after exploring *The Journal*'s intriguing history in Edward E. Scharff's *Worldly Power.*

From Charles Dow and Edward Jones' first four page, two-cent issue — to today's powerful voice of business — *The Wall Street Journal*'s own story emerges as the most fascinating business success of all.

"Behind the scenes of...the most successful newspaper in American history seethe emotions, ambitions, frustrations, achievements, and failures of real human beings. That's the story Edward Scharff tells absorbingly."
—***Institutional Investor***

BEAUFORT BOOKS
Distributed by Kampmann & Company

Available at bookstores or send in the coupon below to:

Beaufort Books
9 East 40th Street, New York, NY 10016, ATT: Order Department

Please send me _____copy(ies) of WORLDLY POWER (0-8253-0359-1) at $18.95 each. (Publisher pays all postage and handling charges.) I have enclosed a check or money order for the total amount, including appropriate state and local taxes.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MONEYBACK GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied, return the book within 15 days postpaid, and we'll refund your money, no questions asked.

NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He failed to appear at the wedding of his best friend, Vernon Watkins: "I know this hasty jumble can't explain all the somersaulting & backspinning of circumstance against my being where I most wanted to be"; robbed silver and furs from a borrowed flat: "We left so hurriedly, & with so little time to think, that we mayn't have tidied everything up." As he explained to one of his numerous benefactors: "Nobody, one might think, *could* say that he was sincerely sorry so many times and still be sincere about it."

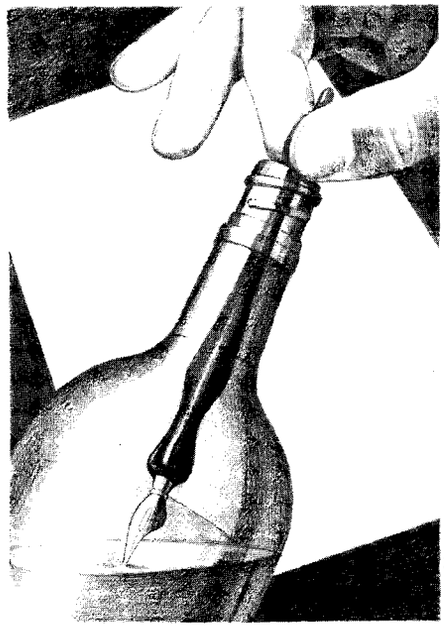
Thomas deserves a complete edition of his letters but requires a selection, for they are extremely repetitious. This handsome, meticulously edited collection contains seven hundred new letters not included in Constantine FitzGibbon's volume of 1966, as well as fascinating bits of information in the footnotes. It is interesting, for example, to note the intimacy of the London literary world, and see how many minor writers were drawn to opposite poles and became friends of both Wyndham Lewis and Dylan Thomas. Thomas's correspondents included Edith Sitwell, T. S. Eliot, Stephen Spender, Lawrence Durrell, and Theodore Roethke. But the least posturing and pretentious letters were sent to his parents and to Vernon Watkins. After a negative review, Thomas condemned Dame Sitwell as a lying, concealing, "poisonous thing of a woman." When she changed her mind about his work a year later, he sickeningly said: "I loved and appreciated [your letter], and I'll owe you a lot always for your encouragement."

His endless requests for handouts from unknown patrons ("I live from poem to mouth") tend to be rather more formal and are complemented by copious regrets for failing to do the work that would have brought in the cash: "After all sorts of upheavals, evasions, promises, procrastinations, I write, very fondly, and fawning slightly, a short inaccurate summary of those events which caused my never writing a word."

Thomas's early letters describe the boredom of provincial life in Wales ("It's a flat, dull day, with grey rain oozing like self-pity"), his early efforts to get published in *Adelphi* and *New Verse*, his epistolary and then actual affair with the young novelist Pamela Hansford Johnson, who later married C. P. Snow. (Thomas also had a brief and somewhat surprising period of homosexuality in 1936.) He offers interesting explications of his obscure poetry and method of composition. Fighting his way up Parnassus, he lacerates past masters and present rivals. He wittily calls Wordsworth "a teatime bore . . . the humorless, the platitudinizing reporter of Nature in her dullest moods." And he unfairly dismisses Auden as a public-school prototype: "the heavy, jocular prefect, the boy bushranger, the school wag, the sixth-form debater, the homosexual clique-joker."

The best letters express Thomas's love for his fiery Irish wife, Caitlin, and comically describe his first visits to Rapallo and to New York. In Italy, "the heat's like a live animal you fight against in the streets" and the acid red wine bites holes in his guts, which he plugs with spaghetti. In America, a "titanic dream world, soaring Babylon, everything monstrously rich and strange," he is merely a voice on wheels, earning and spending money, spilling his words and his seed, living the legend of the mad, self-destructive poet.

Thomas came from a powerful bardic tradition and had all the qualities of the doomed and damned Romantic hero: idealistic, tormented, rebellious. He gave charismatic public readings that transfixed his audience, but was rude and drunken, irresponsible and embarrassing, and swung from euphoria to depression. In the end, a sad ruin, he could exclaim: "Somebody's boring me—and I think it's me." □



Patrick Fiore

LIFE IN THE EMPTY QUARTER

Paul Krza

The Solace of Open Spaces, by Gretel Ehrlich (Viking Penguin, 131 pp., $14.95)

WYOMING IS barely a blip on America's cranial radar. When the state does surface in the American consciousness, it is in blurred visions of gun slingers roaming around such seemingly mythical places as Laramie and Cheyenne; or else in more modern but no less distortive thoughts of jet-set ski condos in Jackson Hole. Reflections in most national media nurture the fantasy. Few people (about 500,000) live in this state, whose area is twice that of New York State, and very few outsiders stop long enough to see beneath the stereotypical surface of a romantic Western novel. But a handful of "outsiders" do stay awhile: grasping the reality, accepting the harshness in exchange for the soothing, healing powers of the open spaces.

One of these is Gretel Ehrlich, an ex-Californian who discovered and delights in the "muscular scarps," the "milkshake brown rivers," and even the trademark Wyoming wind, "pruning the sage." For both the natives and their urban cousins, Miss Ehrlich has done a real service, performed with flair: *The Solace of Open Spaces* captures the essence of a huge, desolate, yet cozy place, where the notched-down and uncrowded pace of life easily compensates for the lack of nearness to the levers of power and the comfort of the urbanized landscape. Often, even native Westerners forget about—or are forced to be defensive about—those qualities. Surely, nothing truly great can originate in that great empty quarter; certainly, life there must be inferior, according to a world view in which the establishment of a McDonald's in a community is viewed as a coming of cultural age.

Miss Ehrlich paints a different—though not entirely pleasant, and sometimes even disturbing—picture. But hers is a largely accurate portrait, which has apparently succeeded in capturing the imagination of many readers.

"I had not planned to stay . . ." Indeed, Miss Ehrlich came to Wyoming during a painful time in her life,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

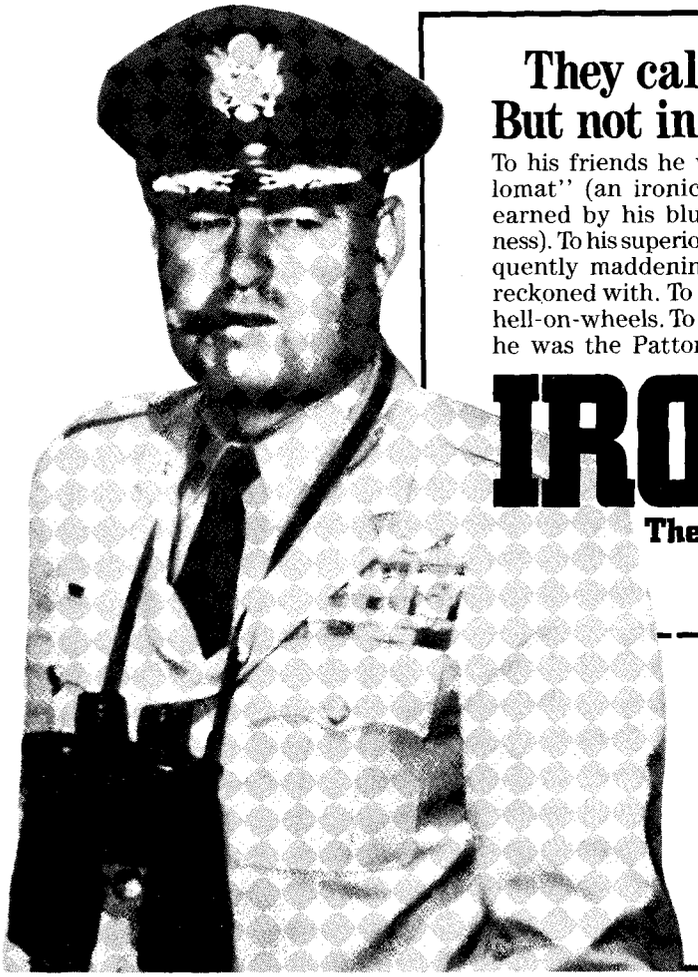
after learning that her lover and co-worker was about to die. What had been a planned joint project to film sheepherders in the Big Horn Mountains for the Public Broadcasting System became a solitary effort filled with remorse. Disoriented by David's death, Miss Ehrlich wandered aimlessly for two years before returning to northern Wyoming to spend a "scarified" winter alone in a one-room mountain cabin.

This collection of essays details a succession of experiences, along with a parallel chronicle of the author's growing love for the often-harsh and unforgiving ranch life. Most notable are the odd lot of characters that give the West its real flavor; such as "Amorous Albert," the leering sheepherder whose sexual advances she must fend off; Ellen, the great-granddaughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson who runs her own ranch alone; and John, the tough-but-tender Mormon-descended sheepman who takes Miss Ehrlich under his wing and eventually places her in charge of her own flock. Another sheepherder, who guns down several cows and lands unregretfully in jail, recalls the early-day conflicts between sheepmen and cattlemen. Meanwhile, mixed drinks in "go cups" are routinely purchased at liquor-store drive-in windows.

Still, the solace of Wyoming life often wears thin. The "sperm, blood, and guts business of ranching" also means, in winter, stretches of forty- and fifty-below-zero days, when people and machines grind to a halt; and, in summer, scorching days sprinkled with the task of winching still-born calves from a "cow's heaving flank." And there is a "dark side to the grandeur of these spaces": the "small-mindedness that seals people in," the violence and heavy drinking spawned by cabin fever. None of these, however, outweighs the compensations: the bull elk bugling and "buck deer sparring in front of my bed" on the cabin veranda; the bonds of the "extended ranch family"; and the intimacy, "with a slightly erotic tint," that grows out of the annual cattle roundups.

Miss Ehrlich is at her best experimenting with words to describe her delight in new images of old Western truths. The only departure from the roughness and rewards of ranch life comes during a dubious trip to Oklahoma City, for a honeymoon at the National Rodeo Finals with her new husband (whom she met at a John Wayne film festival). The ode to rodeo is nice, but, compared to life in Miss Ehrlich's precarious survival perch, going to Oklahoma City and staying in a motel seems pretty plain and normal.

Wyoming, which only recently became a booming state when demand soared for its oil, gas, and coal, is today on the skids again. Its ranches, like the Midwestern farms, are disappearing. Americans, who once thrived on beef and demanded eight-cylinder cars with tailfins, are eating *cuisine minceur*, turning down their thermostats, and getting more miles to the gallon. Now, the talk in the state is about economic development, bringing in new industries in order to diversify. But real salvation may lie in finding a way



They called him "*The Diplomat.*" But not in the Kennedy White House.

To his friends he was "The Diplomat" (an ironic nickname he earned by his blunt outspokenness). To his superiors he was a (frequently maddening) force to be reckoned with. To his men he was hell-on-wheels. To 1960's America he was the Patton of air power—the superhawk honcho who wanted to "bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age" (words he never uttered). But to posterity Curtis LeMay remains the greatest air commander this country has ever produced. Read the compelling story of his controversial career in

IRON EAGLE

The Turbulent Life of General Curtis LeMay
by THOMAS M. COFFEY

A Book-of-the-Month Club Alternate. Over 450 pages. $18.95, available at bookstores June, or use coupon to order. CROWN PUBLISHERS Inc.

CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC., Dept. 523
34 Engelhard Ave., Avenel, N.J. 07001

Please send me IRON EAGLE. I enclose $18.95 plus $1.50 postage and handling. N.Y. and N.J. residents, add sales tax. *10-day money-back guarantee.* Price is subject to change.

☐ Enclosed is my check/money order. OR charge my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

#_____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to mine, refine, and accept the solace so exquisitely described by Gretel Ehrlich. □

FILM

PAKIS AND RUSKIES

John Simon

LAST TIME round, I complained about the inability of Americans to make good small films of the kind an intelligent adult need not feel ashamed of in the unlikely case that their titles, advance publicity, and advertising were not enough to keep him or her away. Which is not to say that you cannot feel ashamed of most of them even without seeing them.

The problem, however, is not confined to the United States, for the garish, preposterous, or infantile effects that can be partly (but only partly) blamed on Americanization have extended way beyond the source, and if they only had the money and political freedom, there is no telling how many film industries would be indistinguishable from America's. It is, therefore, gratifying that two interesting movies have come in rapid succession from England, even if one of them was written by a half-Pakistani and made for television, while the other was financed by an obscure group of Liverpudlians on less than a shoestring, though in the end (British) Channel Four, which had earlier turned down the script, did contribute something toward the film's completion.

I am referring to *My Beautiful Laundrette* and *Letter to Brezhnev*, two small films of undeniable quality, albeit not so great as the reviewers—eager to find their weekly masterpiece, which they seem to need as much as their daily bread—have tended to read into them. A critic, these days, cannot live by bread alone. More often he must make do with crumbs.

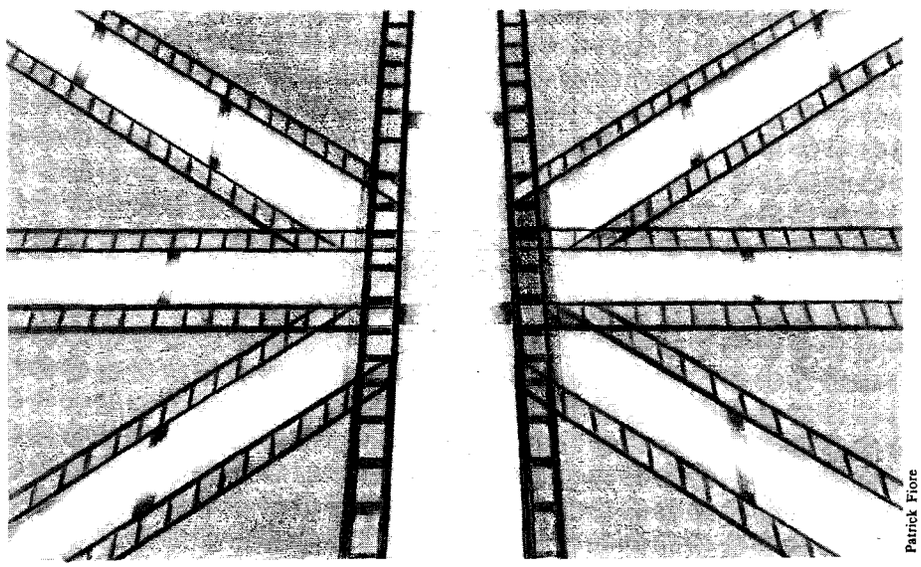
My Beautiful Laundrette was written by Hanif Kureishi, a young playwright born in the slums of London to a Pakistani father and English mother. Though he studied philosophy and had a play produced at 18, he supported himself as a writer of pornography. Such a Manichean—not to say manic—background provided good schooling for a screenplay about Pakistanis in London, some honest but poor, more of them hustlers or criminals with moments of nostalgia for the homeland and even for honesty. There is Papa, an ex-journalist whose wife committed suicide, and who now leads an Oblomovian existence of bed, gin, and hopes for his 18-year-old Omar at university next fall. But it's summer, and he calls his rich entrepreneur brother, Nasser, to give the boy a job at his garage, one of Nasser's many businesses, and to fix him up with a nice girl.

Omar does well at the garage, and impresses both Nasser and his pretty but aging English mistress, Rachel, whose only gift from Nasser seems to be a fur stole she wears in every scene. Is this an insight into Nasser's character, or a costuming error? Soon Omar is taken home to meet Nasser's family and friends, who range from Pakistanis of various degrees of Europeanization to fancy English racketeers. Tania, Nasser's eldest daughter, dissatisfied with her existence, promptly propositions Omar by baring her bosom to him in a scene that smacks of the overstatement that often mars this modest film. The only one who mistrusts Omar is Salim, a dapper young relative of Nasser's, prospering in the drug and porn trades, who uses Omar alternately as errand and whipping boy.

In due time, Omar runs into Johnny, a former school chum, now the head of a Pakistani-hating gang of punkers who shack up in abandoned houses often owned by Pakis. But Johnny has such affection for Omar that he agrees to help him run a broken-down launderette Nasser entrusts him with for a consideration. Omar refurbishes it with the price of some heroin he and Johnny lift from Salim; rechristened Powders, it is a huge success and makes Omar, to his father's disgust, forget all about university, although the course of true greed does not run entirely smooth.

What makes *Laundrette* interesting is not so much the writing or Stephen Frears's somewhat overreaching direction, as the novelty of the problem of Pakistanis in England, a country where everything, good and bad, is laid out before you, "only you have to know how to squeeze the tit of the system." The alternative is going back to the fatherland, "but that country has been sodomized by religion: It is a bit hard to make money." So one stays "in this country we both love and hate." The imagery, whoever the speaker is, is sexual, and sexuality of one sort or another underlies everything here. Just as the new launderette is being ceremoniously opened to the strains of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Omar and Johnny are having intercourse in the office. Quite casually, they start nuzzling, then undressing each other and going to it. So that is why the hoodlum so eagerly embraced the "wog's" offer of a job.

Homosexuals have praised the casual way in which homosexuality is introduced; they find this scene and the final one liberating. Personally, I consider it artistically just as suspect to introduce pederasty so offhandedly and then more or less dismiss it as to make a huge fuss over it. But, then, the director is full of little tricks, such as the pre-title sequence that is all but incomprehensible except on sec-



Patrick Fiore

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ond viewing, as well as other scenes that would not win prizes for lucidity.

Adding to the opacity is the lingo grunted by the young punks, a melancholy and ironic contrast to the high British spoken only by the Pakistani elders. And both author and director have to be blamed for such spurious effects as the scene where Tania, having been spurned by both Omar and Johnny, leaves on her own. Nasser has gone to see his metaphysical slugabed of a brother, and they are having a touching reunion in the wretched bedroom overlooking the railroad tracks onto which Papa's wife jumped to her death. Outside, trains are clattering by in all directions, and as Nasser assures his brother that he is working on Omar and Tania's marriage, whom should he spot but his daughter, valise in hand, defiantly staring up at him from below. We weren't even aware of a railway stop and platform there, and, even if she had known that her father was visiting upstairs, each would have needed a periscope to see the other. As Nasser's face contracts in pain, a couple of trains whoosh by in opposite directions without stopping and, pronto, the spot where Tania stood is empty. This might go in Buñuel, but not here.

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

FREE TRADE: *The Necessary Foundation for World Peace* (Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10533; $5.95), edited by Joan Kennedy Taylor, is a timely, and for the most part interesting, collection of essays dating from as early as 1847 and as late as 1985, marred here and there by an excessive intellectual stringency (as in Ludwig von Mises' statement that "What generates war is the economic philosophy almost universally espoused today by governments and political parties") attributable to the project's heavy indebtedness to *The Freeman*, in which many of the essays were originally printed. In addition to von Mises, the list of contributors includes William L. Baker, Frédéric Bastiat, Clarence B. Carson, Frank Chodorov, W. M. Curtiss, Bettina Bien Greaves, Henry Hazlitt, Samuel H. Husbands, Gary North, David Osterfeld, E. C. Pasour Jr., and Hans F. Sennholz. According to the publishers: "This is the first volume in The Freeman Library, a new series of books that will, from time to time, bring together in permanent form a group of essays that illuminate a single topic."

"Today," the editor states,

> you will find neoliberals and neoconservatives who support the economics of free trade, as well as classical liberals, libertarians, and conservatives. But this is often a shaky alliance, vulnerable to the pleadings of special circumstance and the perceived threat of war. A free-trade policy is seen by many as a luxury in which we can indulge ourselves when things are going well internationally. This leads politicians to hesitate to divest the United States of the ability to wage economic warfare; which means, to devise schemes to prosper at the expense of other countries, which means, to be protectionist.

Contrarily, the premise of the essays following these remarks is that free trade, far from being a "luxury," is both an economic and a moral law, crucial to the health of the economies of all nations, as well as to that economic freedom which is itself a fundamental human right.

Writing in 1962, Bettina Greaves observed that "The philosophy of protectionism dominates both political parties" and "now pervades almost every aspect of human life," the justification for this obsession being nothing less than the national interest. But Frédéric Bastiat, a founder of the first French free-trade association and a friend of Richard Cobden of the British Anti-Corn-Law League, saw through this myth a century and a half ago:

> In war, *the stronger overcomes the weaker*. In business, *the stronger imparts strength to the weaker*. . . . our conclusion must be, then, that domination through industrial superiority is impossible and self-contradictory, since every superiority that manifests itself in a nation is transformed into low-cost goods and in the end only imparts strength to all nations. Let us banish from political economy all expressions borrowed from a military vocabulary: *to fight on equal terms, conquer, crush, choke off, be defeated, invasion, tribute*. What do these terms signify? Squeeze them, and nothing comes out. Or, rather, what comes out is absurd errors and harmful preconceptions. Such expressions are inimical to international cooperation, hinder the formation of a peaceful, ecumenical, and indissoluble union of the peoples of the world, and retard the progress of mankind.

In what is perhaps the best of the collection, "Protectionism and Unemployment," Hans F. Sennholz, after observing that "Most of the arguments in favor of restriction stem from the distant past," concludes that

> The neomercantilism of the 1970s and 1980s differs from the 1930s version in two important aspects: It is devoid of the blatant nationalism of the first half of the century and its beggar-my-neighbor attitude; but it is saturated with the notions and doctrines of full employment by government fiat. . . . it does not aim at economic autarky for nationalistic ends, but at income and employment in favored industries.

In point of fact, Sennholz argues, mass unemployment is a "self-inflicted evil" created chiefly by the demands of labor organizations for government protection; and, further, that trade barriers, so far from offering the solution to unemployment, have the effect of creating it among other, unprotected, industries. And David Osterfeld, in his essay, "The Nature of Modern Warfare," makes the striking argument in furtherance of the classic free-trade argument that liberal trade agreements produce peace between nations, and that it is the rise of the welfare state through interventionist policies on the part of governments, and not any law inherent in capitalism, that has made the twentieth century the bloodiest in history.

> In a planned, autarkic economy, territorial boundaries are of supreme importance. An isolated nation must possess all of its required resources. The larger the area under control, the better it can provide for its wants and needs. Yet, no country is blessed with a provision of complete economic self-sufficiency. Autarky, accordingly, must manifest itself in aggressive nationalism, in the desire of every country for the control of ever larger areas.

Free Trade is, on balance, a useful and worthy collection, causing me to look forward with interest to further publications in The Freeman Library series. □

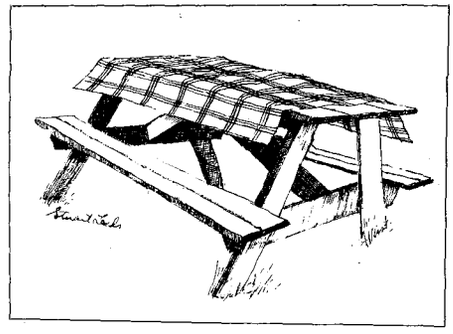
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Still, *My Beautiful Laundrette* is different, genuinely small (it was even shot in 16 mm), and the youthful cruelty and ruthlessness with which it looks at the world is its very own. But it also has too many loose ends, e.g., where is Tania going, what does she want from life, and how will she subsist? Omar and Johnny will found an empire of launderettes—not beautiful, but, then, few empires are—but what becomes of rebellious, independent-minded women here? For that matter, what happens to old-fashioned Rachel, after Nasser's wife's voodoo gives her a terrible rash, and she regretfully walks out on Nasser? Even a modest little film could cover a bit more ground.

LETTER TO BREZHNEV, where most of the characters speak dense Liverpudlian, is even harder to understand and could almost use subtitles. But its two heroines' basic problem is ecumenical enough. Teresa works in a factory removing guts from chickens, but is herself the gutsiest of live birds —with platinum hair, outrageous clothes, and the readiness even to lift a wallet from a repulsive would-be seducer. Elaine, currently jobless, is more sensitive and restrained, and is seeking more than the mere good time Teresa is, or thinks she is, after. The girls' lives begin after dark, when they, and others like them, must compete for an ever decreasing number of even moderately tolerable men.

On one such nocturnal round the girls hook up with Sergei and Peter, two Russian sailors on their single day of shore leave. After much cross-cultural titillation, the four end up in adjoining hotel rooms, where the beefy Sergei and Teresa perform all but wordlessly and well-nigh unremittingly, while Elaine and the boyish Peter only talk and fall in love. When the ship departs next morning, the afterglow remains, and, finally, with Teresa's encouragement, Elaine writes a letter to Brezhnev, and, after a long, anguished wait, receives a permit and one-way plane ticket to the Soviet Union. Now it seems as if not only Elaine's family but also most of England were trying to dissuade and stop the girl.

Much is improbable here, notably that the British Foreign Office, through an all too benignly paternalistic official, could and would produce a photograph of Peter with an alleged wife as a



deterrent for Elaine. But much of how her family, friends, and the press treat her is persuasive: some of it horrid, some humorous, some authentically heartwarming. And the film wisely ends on a promise rather than a certainty. Frank Clarke's dialogue, as far as I could follow it, is zesty and humane; Chris Bernard's direction forthright yet visually stimulating. The acting, as also in *Laundrette*, is overwhelmingly genuine, though in that one it was the older men, Roshan Seth and Saeed Jaffrey, who emerged most appealing, whereas here it is the young women, Margi Clarke and Alexandra Pigg, who enchant most. As for Peter Firth, that palely English actor, here he actually made me believe that he was Pyotr rather than Peter. □

DELECTATIONS

LAST JUDGMENTS

Nika Hazelton

HERE THEY ARE: the winners of the 1986 Delectations Contest. Contestants were asked to describe their personal conception of heaven and hell *on this earth*. Dozens of readers sent in their entries; your three totally incorruptible and inscrutable judges—Bill Buckley, Priscilla Buckley, and myself —incorruptibly and inscrutably judged; and we are now ready to announce the results. The three winners will each receive a copy of Bill Buckley's latest novel, *High Jinx*, duly autographed. We have also awarded a booby prize—*Vibration Cooking, or the Travel Notes of a Geechee Girl*—to Matthew H. Emerson of Allentown, Pa. I would like to suggest to Mr. Emerson that he read names more carefully in order to be able to spell them correctly. (Not a big thing, Mr. Emerson, but one that can handicap your progress through life in more ways than you think.)

R. D. Graham, of Fort Scott, Kan., wins with this entry: "Heaven on earth: Life without liberals. Hell on earth: Life without liberals. (With whom would I argue?)" Jim Murphy, of San Dimas, Calif., scores with "My idea of heaven is receiving travel directions from an Irish farmer; my idea of hell is trying to follow them." And W. A. Gillfry, of Quinter, Kan. (assuming I deciphered his name and address correctly), weighs in with: "Hell on earth: to suffer the fate of King Solomon—*one thousand mothers-in-law*. Heaven on earth: to fall into a huge vat of Michelob beer, and go down for the third time with a smile on my face and never a cry for help." (I can't help wondering about Mr. Gillfry's private life . . .)

To our sorrow, we judges noted that far too many people started their entries with their idea of hell rather than of heaven. Obviously, they must have been irritated at the time of writing by the weather, TV, rock music, and the way so many of our *political institutions* do *not* function. We also hope that the contestants who wrote at great length about themselves under the guise of discussing their ideas of heaven and hell will feel a bit more hopeful about their lives now.

The judges also wish to commend the contestants for their invariable high-mindedness. Almost all took a great deal of trouble to express their ideas in good, clear language, some of them even in lyrical and/or poetical terms. And, as in all Delectations contests, I would like to express the judges' deep gratitude for the neatness of the entries. Typewritten or written by hand, they are (most of them) models of their kind.

For obvious reasons, I must limit myself to quoting only a few of the many hundreds of fine entries. Honorable mentions go to Marcia Manion, St. Paul, Minn., for: "My idea of hell is incessant chatter with incorrect English grammar"; to Bill Murphy, Middlebury, Vt., for: "Heaven would be working on an archaeological dig any place in the world without flies, mosquitoes, poison ivy, snakes, and a pompous site director"; to Ronald G. McComb, Seattle, Wash., for: "Heaven on this earth would be realized if

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ronald Reagan entered into a dynastic marriage with Margaret Thatcher and together they ruled the world"; to John Pietic, Fort Dodge, Iowa, for: "Everlasting punishment would be twin daughters who would forever remain 14"; to Joan Vahlkamp, Annapolis, Md., for remarking: "While hell might possibly be avoided on a desert island, heaven will never be enjoyed in my lifetime . . . That is stretching the imagination too far"; to Dick Besser, Grand Rapids, Mich., for: "Hell—trying to convince a liberal with a PhD from an Eastern university that conservatism is the natural and proper order of things. (Eternal lost cause.)" Doris McKeon of Lexington, Mass., thinks this about heaven on earth: "There is no such thing unless you count balancing your checkbook"; Joseph Girone, MD, of Telford, Pa., says: "Heaven—being a child in the United States of America. Hell—being a child in Ethiopia."

The shortest entry came from Mike Linett, Newark, Del., with: "Heaven—Delaware. Hell—New Jersey," which I commend for brevity, although I cannot say I share his opinion. Harry Dee, East Northport, N.Y., is to be admired for his ingenuity and industry in sending us no fewer than nine entries on his idea of heaven, compared with three for hell; the judges congratulate Mr. Dee for his obviously sunny nature. We also doff our hats to Doris Conlon, Kingwood, N.J., for remarking: "The present day in my life is heaven on earth to me"; I only wish space would permit me to quote her whole letter. Merrie Kendrick, Toledo, Ohio, writes a charming poem on her idea of heaven. (She is also an exceptional typist, an accomplishment I envy). Eric Corley, Setauket, N.Y., describes his idea of hell as "a place where you find yourself trying to explain a Woody Allen film to the Ayatollah." W. Bryan Sorens, Tennessee Colony, Tex., begins his long, heartfelt letter with a sentiment I consider admirable: "Heaven is most usually not recognized until it turns up missing. It follows then that hell is always very noticeable. Our nature being what it is, hell is easily impressed upon us."

I am sorry that John Winer, Springfield, Ohio, says: "Hell—Christmas alone." The following also take a dim view of life: Katharine Paulsen, Vancouver, B.C.: "Hell is to be asked modern-psychology questions, i.e., 'Do you like yourself?' or 'Have you grown from the experience?' "; Danny O'Brian, Haverhill, Mass.: "Hell on earth is walking into the bathroom at work and seeing your name ridiculed on the walls"; L. A. Bach, Idaho Falls, Idaho: "Hell is for me to be asked to take part in a symposium on what to look for in an ideal wife, and having my own spouse seated in front taking down with her ballpoint pen on a pad brought for the occasion why I had forgotten to include other more flattering points in her own favor." (Mr. Bach, all the judges say that, if this really happened to you, we are sorry.)

Maria Morin, Goldsboro, N.C., sends a choice of definitions of heaven and hell of which we can, alas, quote only this one: "Heaven is any Roman Catholic Mass before Vatican II; I'm sure you can figure out what hell is from this." Finally, Erwin Milliment, New York, N.Y., strikes a very (to me) reasonable note with: "My idea of hell is feeling compelled to enter a contest of this sort only because it is another challenge that must be met. Heaven is knowing that I did not win and that I do not have to go through the shame of revealing my foolishness."

P.S. to Lars-Erik Wiberg, Rockport, Mass., and Paul H. Rothfuss, North Augusta, S.C.: Congratulations for being the only two contestants who mentioned the old adage of heaven and hell that follows, and for not claiming your knowledge is original. (I knew it too, and I was curious to see if anyone would quote it.) "In heaven," to quote Mr. Wiberg's version, "the cooks are French, the police are English, the mechanics are German, the lovers are Italian, and everything is organized by the Swiss. In hell, the cooks are English, the police are German, the mechanics are French, the lovers are Swiss, and everything is organized by the Italians." □

THE GIMLET EYE

SCANNING THE CITY

D. Keith Mano

"AVAILABLE 24 units. 85 with footpost 784 Columbus, in front of. 97 on the cross. Woman stabbed, five minutes in the past. Perp a male black, white sweatsuit, blue hood, Kangol hat, headed west to Amsterdam."

So, by number and in their special slang, go the terrors of the night. I listen as I write. Red blips sprint across my scanner board, fanning the air for misfortune. And there is enough. My ear-reach extends from 42nd Street, through Harlem, that tarry stool of crime and desperation, to Baker Field. There is seldom silence. Spent rounds of nervous communication insist, then break off. On 137th

Call for any current book

● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.

BOOK CALL™

1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES
provided the ground for the important political leaders, philosophers, theologians, scientists, lawyers, poets, and religious of the past.

Our college program is based on the Humanities as discerned in the great books of Western civilization and as seen through the eyes of the Christian humanist.

THOMAS MORE INSTITUTE OF LIBERAL ARTS

FOR CATALOGUE AND BROCHURE WRITE TO:
DR. PETER V. SAMPO
Thomas More Institute of Liberal Arts
Six Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PROGRAM
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....
TELEPHONE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Street near Lenox, a man covered with lice. Child missing 127 East 130th. Three-card monte between 45th and 46th on Eighth. Difficulty-breather in apartment 6 David, 240 Audubon. 10-52 (auto accident) at 76 and Beeway. Selling crack in the lobby, 45 Thayer. And shots fired, shots fired. You can expect two dozen before dawn. It is the city's particular, ill-tempered crepitation.

"Central to pressure-point unit. We've got a lock-in. Man fell asleep in an adult-movie theater. He can't get out now."

"10-14 Central. Are you sure he wants to? His wife'll be real supportive about this."

And I take notes on the jargon. Slim Jim: thin wire device for opening a locked car. MOS: member of the service (another cop). Wally: female genitalia, as in bleeding from her. EDP: emotionally disturbed person. One under: suspect arrested. On a vertical: we've gone up or downstairs to investigate. Bus: Emergency Service ambulance. 5 by 5: coming in loud and clear. Crack: a high-efficiency sort of cocaine. And the number code. 10-5: repeat. 10-13: hot pursuit. 10-85: make a rendezvous. The popular 10-63: out for meal break. They try to achieve perfect and impenetrable succinctness. "Central 15 us three-six-eight-zebra-boy-Sam, New York, if it's 17, we'll be 98." (Do a computer license-plate check on 368 ZBS. If it comes up negative you can reassign us.) No proper names are used. Really sensational gossip is sent in by "landline" (telephone).

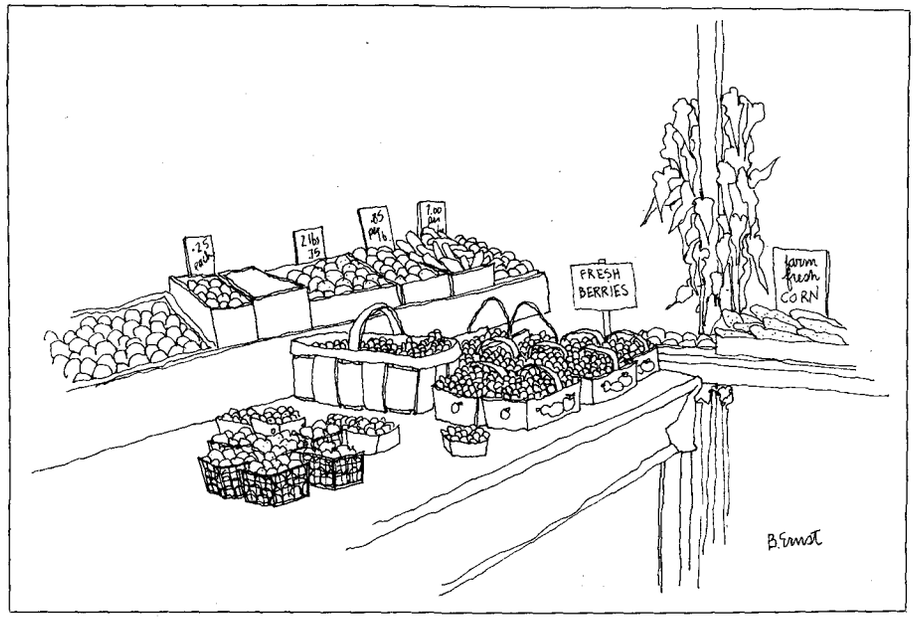
"Central, we have a serious rat condition on 99 between Amst and Beeway. They're flooding out over the street." Good to know. That location is just one block from my apartment.

Nicola Paone

ITALIAN RESTAURANT

"As for favorite restaurants, in New York, at **Nicola Paone,** if you are a nice, conservative, appreciative guest, he will shower you with the best food, wine, and service in the world."
—William F. Buckley Jr.

207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239



These vignettes don't often have a nice dramatic shape. They begin, they intensify, then they sheer off toward nothing. Purse snatcher chased up Manhattan Avenue: he still runs, for all I know. Rape in endless progress. They are so many first premises for a novel. Final disposition will be made at the precinct house or central booking. Radio interplay, in general, is polite and useful. But tempers can become gnarled. The average central dispatcher is slick and adept. Some, though, are half deaf and have unhelpful Caribbean dialects. They can misplace an entire disorderly mob. Which poor crowd control will inspire irritable comments from the street. "That so, David? If you're bad enough, come up and tell me to my face." Peevishness answered by belching, raspberries, and mock-fag horror. "Oh, *dear.*" If they don't trust their leader, the units can get tight as curlpaper. Mid-chase, they'd rather not be sent head-on into each other.

"Central to 6 Ida. Report of bats flying around, 241 Old Broadway, apartment 5 Eddie."

"Bats? What're we supposta do with bats, Central?"

"Clean 'em out, on authority of the sergeant."

"Great. Just great."

The Emergency Service men are more flip and perhaps somewhat recalcitrant as well. I don't blame them much. Their standard eight-hour shift is one pumping, grim hemorrhage. Throw out your dead. "With all those hospitals closed to EDPs, Central, we are now as crazy as the patient." "Believe it or not, we're heading to Mount Sinai with one very constipated woman." "Did you say the patient has TB, Central? Oh, VD. VD is okay." But people with AIDS are not. "No, sir, Central, we won't move this bus until we have it hosed down from top to bottom."

"Report of policeman in uniform shot. 104th Street and Beeway."

"That's a chronic, Central, we got that four times last week."

"Check and advise, Adam."

"10-4."

About half the jobs are like that: inconclusive or pure crank. Or phoned in by skittish citizens who'd like to have a patrol car sweep their block. They arrive at the vacant street corner. They go vertical to vacant apartment 11 David. Try finding that policeman who will be shot over and over again throughout the night. "No one has approached our car, Central. Is there a call-back?"

"Negative. The complainant just hung up." Yet they have to check and advise. On a bitter night, stumble into blank alleys for the sake of form. Investigate some prank rape. Not only must they heal a marital dispute, convince the wino to go home, silence that stupid, hooting car alarm, but they must do it with dispatch. Each precinct has no more than six cars for one square mile or so of trouble. "Holding numerous in the 2-8. Available units, please." Want to commit a crime in New York? Just have ten cronies call 911 beforehand. The police can be paralyzed by duty.

"We've got two people shot here,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Central. 10-13." His voice is raw. He speaks, windless, while running. And I can hear the wounded shriek behind him. "Heading north on Lenox. One . . . uh-ah, 39. Male Hispanic. Green fatigues. Armed. 85 me. 85."

And the units respond. They come, bubble-gum flashing, out of boredom and repetition. They're with him in minutes. I won't find out who the wounded were, nor if that rogue Hispanic was caught. But there is energy in the streets. They're glad, I feel it, to have an objective at last in this inexact business of protecting New York. Then the inevitable call from Central. "Slow it down at 139 and Lenox. Thank all units for your help. Resume patrol on authority of the sergeant." Back to domestic quarreling, to an elevator stuck, to small and tedious mischief. And the red light on my scanner snoops around. □

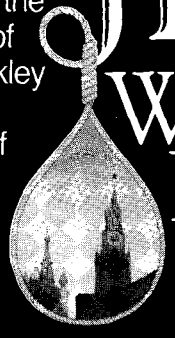
BOOKS IN BRIEF

Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina by Diana Williams Combs (University of Georgia, 246 pp., $35)

THE ICONOPHOBIC Puritans were given to only one form of religious art, the carved figures on gravestones —*Graven Images*, as Allen I. Ludwig called them paranomastically in the title of his magnificent 1975 study. Little attention had been paid to them by art critics until Harriette M. Forbes published her pioneering volume, *Gravestones of Early New England* in 1927. Ludwig's book, with the subtitle *New England Stone Carving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815*, inspired Mrs. Combs to this major work, itself pioneering so far as the South is concerned, but also extending the work of Ludwig on individual carvers. Many of the carvers who worked in South Carolina and Georgia were New Englanders, and Mrs. Combs has been able to document stonework here and there that Ludwig did not find. She also makes the important point that in the South, with its somewhat less rigid doctrine, the carvers sensed a freedom for figuration that would not have been acceptable in the Old Granary Burying Ground in Boston or in King's Chapel, as some of her numerous illustrations demonstrate. Two that bear out her theses are the Elizabeth Simmons

For Khrushchev, Eisenhower, and Oakes, the stakes have never been higher.

And this time, the deadly game involves even Queen Caroline and Buckingham Palace. From a covert camp for killers to a KGB trysting nest in Stockholm to the tightly closed doors of the Kremlin, Bill Buckley unwinds a chilling, heart-stopping tale of high adventure... high treason... HIGH JINX.



HIGH JINX

William F. Buckley, Jr.

A novel with Blackford Oakes

DOUBLEDAY

A MAIN SELECTION OF THE LITERARY GUILD • At bookstores everywhere

Why are the Liberals AFRAID OF THIS MAN?

While most liberals are content to just talk about the world's major problems, Scott Gardner has gone ahead and solved them, in the true conservative tradition. His book, "STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE," shows how to eliminate poverty, cure cold feet in bed, wipe out political corruption, lick inflation, get rid of roaches, and solve the energy crisis; all without increasing taxes.

In the process of solving these problems and many others, Gardner takes on and demolishes the Welfare State, NASA, Big Government, the Arabs, the Russians, Wall Street, the Publishing Business, the Human Potential Movement, and just about everyone else, himself included.

Livid with rage, one of the largest publishers in the country threatened to sue Gardner for two million dollars. New York City slapped a consumer protection violation on his book—sight unseen. And a New York financial weekly tried to besmirch his reputation with a defamatory article. But nothing can stop Gardner. "STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE" is well on its way to becoming the Conservative underground best-seller. Order your copy today and see why.

Warning: Do not read this book if it hurts when you laugh, if you have just had bypass surgery, or if you voted for Walter Mondale. All others are advised to read no more than one chapter a day.

DRAYDEL PRESS—Department NR-5
36 West 56th Street New York, NY 10019

Please send ___ copies of STOP ME BEFORE I WRITE MORE @ $6.95 ea. for paperback, $14.95 cloth. I will add $1.00 postage. If I wish, I may return book in 14 days for refund plus postage.

Name_____

Address_____

City & State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT / WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

PITY THE STATE DEPARTMENT

NEW YORK, MAY 30

"U.S. REACTS with Outrage/Files Formal Protest" was the headline in Los Angeles on Tuesday, the lead story describing the raids by South Africa on three neighboring capitals. Spokesmen for the American Administration had a most difficult time making their points exactly, and some of the most difficult questions weren't even asked.

The first question, of course, is whether the government of South Africa is expected to tolerate terrorist activity.

A bad season to ask that question, here in the United States, but of course the State Department took the offensive. There is absolutely no comparison to be drawn, its spokesman said, between what we did to Libya, and what South Africa did to Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana. The difference is obvious: Libya is the headquarters of the international terrorism directed by Qaddafi, whereas the African states attacked by Pretoria are peace-loving neighboring countries.

The trouble with that dismissal is that it presupposes that South Africa was launching an attack against three peace-loving neighbors. But it wasn't doing that. It was attacking—or trying to attack—terrorist depots in those countries. When, a few months ago, Israel attacked Tunisia, it was not attacking a moderate and relatively friendly North African state. It was attacking terrorist concentrations couched in that country. The difference is not hard to perceive.

Well, was there *prima facie* justification for suspecting terrorist activity where the targets lay?

The director of the University of Pretoria's Institute of Strategic Studies, Mike Hough, is, so far as we know, a scholar, not a professional apologist. He has reported that the number of terrorist incidents in South Africa increased to 136 in 1985 from 44 in 1984, and that so far in 1986 there have been seventy such incidents.

But how on earth do South African revolutionaries get hold of the relatively sophisticated weapons needed to carry on terrorist attacks? The Mau Mau used home-made hatchets and the like, but we are talking about other weapons here.

The weapons used by the terrorists have in almost every case been of Soviet manufacture. "It is obvious that Russian mines and weapons can be brought into South Africa by one route only, through our neighboring states," the Defense Force of Pretoria was quoted. "These states have repeatedly been requested not to provide assistance to terrorists. Urgent appeals have been made to them to cooperate in this regard."

So where are we?

When I served (briefly) in the United Nations, one of my assignments was to seek to wrest from the Third Committee of the General Assembly a comprehensive statement condemning terrorism. I gave a couple of uplifting speeches on the subject, and everyone would solemnly nod his head in agreement that terrorism was to be condemned. But of course, anyone who blew up an Israeli athlete, as in Munich, was not a terrorist—he was a freedom-fighter. And anyone who blew up a Portuguese soldier in Mozambique or Angola was not a terrorist—he too was a freedom-fighter. And *a fortiori*, anyone who knocks off a white South African is a freedom-fighter.

THERE IS a sense in which this is, or rather becomes, true. "History is the polemic of the victors," it is tirelessly repeated. Nobody thinks of Menachem Begin as a terrorist, but the British most certainly did in the immediate postwar years, when he was head of the Irgun. What the government of South Africa is telling the world is quite simply this: that although the whole world despises its form of government, Pretoria is not going to let terrorists usher in its replacement. Meanwhile, the State Department, in its righteousness, has significant polemical problems.

I mean, did the episode on Monday have to burden the State Department with Robert Mugabe? Zimbabwe's prime minister, who is in favor of multiracialism in South Africa, is engaged in removing the white franchise in his own country. He is recorded as having spoken, "his voice shaking with emotion," to deplore the carnage caused by the South Africans. The count? Two dead, ten injured. And then what did Mugabe come out and say? He said that the time had come for Zimbabwe to give "more," repeat "more," support to "the African National Congress and other liberation movements fighting in South Africa."

How would you feel, if you were the State Department, and you had just finished saying that the peace-loving neighbors of South Africa were not supporting the terrorists? Robert Mugabe was an accomplished terrorist in his fight to control Rhodesia, and he won, and now he is a statesman. The American public needs to recognize that to condone the struggle against terrorists by Pretoria is not the equivalent of condoning apartheid. □

HERE WE GO AGAIN

NEW YORK, JUNE 2

TWO RECENT incidents, one widely noticed, the other not, from the college circuit.

Drew Lewis is invited to his alma mater, Haverford College, to deliver a commencement address and to receive an honorary degree. By the time he gets there, about one-third of the faculty of Haverford have registered a protest against his receiving a degree. Why? Because when Lewis was Secretary of Transportation, he figured prominently in what was one of Mr. Reagan's most honorable and far-reaching decisions. It was to dismiss the air-traffic controllers who engaged in an illegal strike in the course of which any American who traveled the air stood to risk his life. Not only were the illegal strikers dismissed, orders went out that they were not to be rehired. The reasoning of Mr. Reagan was plain: If a federal employee is prepared to risk human life when acting illegally, such a person is not qualified to resume federal employment. He is in the strictest sense of the word a security risk.

What Drew Lewis did, on arriving at Haverford, was patiently listen to the citation read out before the traditional anointment, done by draping the college mantle over the recipient's neck. He aborted the ceremony at that point, went to the rostrum, and announced that he was declining the degree because of the faculty protest over its conferral. He then recounted the reasoning behind the historic decision taken in 1981 when the controllers engaged in their illegal strike. He got a standing ovation, but no honorary degree. Academic freedom strikes again at Haverford College.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here is one for the books. A couple of years ago, a conservative speaker addresses a New England college. Halfway through, a student from a neighboring college contrives to disrupt the proceeding by hoisting a huge banner protesting the fee ($7,500) paid to the speaker on the grounds that the speaker was not promoting social justice as understood by the protestor. The cops came, pulled the protestor away, and the lecture proceeded. Whereupon the protestor got an ambulance chaser to sue the college sponsoring the speaker on the grounds that he had been deprived of his civil rights. And said college, after a certain amount of legal hemming and hawing, decided to pay the protestor 7,500 clams rather than face protracted litigation over this & that.

Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary* magazine, wrote recently in his syndicated column to console parents whose children had applied unsuccessfully for admission to the Ivy League colleges. "It is hardly an exaggeration," he said, "to say that the Ivy League colleges have become perhaps the most narrow-minded and bigoted communities since the passing of the old American small towns so mercilessly satirized by Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, H. L. Mencken, and many other writers of the 1920s."

Because we are not fighting in Vietnam, incidents involving conservative speakers addressing U.S. colleges are not receiving the kind of attention they used to. In November 1984, students at Brown University accosted two CIA representatives who had been invited to the university to speak. Halfway through the initial speech, a whistle blew and half the students in the audience rose to administer a citizen's arrest, a Harvard *Lampoon*-type gesture of protest against two gentlemen engaged full-time in protecting the freedom of Brown University students to engage in childish fascism. It goes without saying that punishment of those students, like punishment of the students at Dartmouth who spend half their time sitting in the president's office, was painless.

My favorite is the treatment given to Adolfo Calero, leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, invited to give a speech at Northwestern University. While he was describing Sandinistan suppression of liberties, an assistant professor of English, an anti-freedom-fighter called Barbara Foley, approached the stage and declared, "He has no right to speak here tonight, and we're not going to let him speak. He'll be lucky to get out of here alive." Indeed he was. A riot ensued and blood was poured on Calero. Miss Foley received a reprimand from the school, and will no doubt be offered a professorship at Dartmouth, and an honorary degree at Haverford to record her valor.

Such incidents are hardly isolated. They have taken place recently at Wellesley, at Harvard, at Berkeley. "The result of such incidents," Professor Sidney Hook has written, "is that a host of speakers think twice about accepting invitations to speak . . . and every successful disruption increases the likelihood of self-censorship on the part of the faculty, not inviting those who may be regarded as objectionable to the fascist Left."

And as Jeff Rosenthal, a freshman at Dartmouth, has pointed out in the *Dartmouth Review*, "Hook's words have rung true at Berkeley where, since an incident involving Jeane Kirkpatrick three years ago, no conservative has spoken." □

NO MORE SALT II

NEW YORK, JUNE 9

MR. REAGAN'S announcement that we do not intend to feel bound by SALT II unless the Soviet Union shapes up on the matter of compliance was a wonderful tonic, not alone because of its effect on the Kremlin, which is apoplectic at this official public acknowledgment of its cheating. The other effect the announcement has had is to flush out full statements of the superstitions we live by, or at least those Americans live by who earnestly believe that the way to prevail in the struggle for the world is to have three disarmament treaties per year with the Soviet Union. These notoriously result in nothing. We may as well re-enact the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Remember? That was the one in the late Twenties in which all the signatories forswore war as an instrument of policy. It was the black mass that preceded World War II.

Senator Albert Gore Jr. has taken front and center in the controversy and gives, in an Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times*, five reasons why what Mr. Reagan did was not only wrong, but so wrong that history will record it as his greatest error.

Don't you see, Mr. Gore writes, the Soviet Union has a "hot" production line for intercontinental ballistic missiles "and can quickly expand the number of warheads on its already deployed SS-18 heavy missiles. By contrast, we have one 'lukewarm' production line and no real ability to quickly increase the number of warheads we have deployed."

But surely this is beside the point at this juncture? We have heard it said now for almost ten years that we are talking about redundancy, that we have enough inventory to destroy the Soviet Union ten times (or whatever) and that they have complementary inventory. So if they increase it, why should this worry us?

Already the Soviet Union has what it needs to destroy our land-based missiles, so that, in any event, we are depending on the other two legs of our triad, the bombers and the submarines. Unless the Soviet Union figures out a way to develop a missile that will find our bombers in the air and our submarines in the ocean, it will not seriously alter the balance by increasing its inventory of SS-18s or of the new SS-24s and -25s. To the extent that it is a contest in technology, we are determined, with or without SALT II, to pursue the development of a Stealth Bomber, and if we think we can have time enough to launch an MX, then we should get on with its deployment. And we are always free, even under SALT II, to develop a mobile missile. So what is the senator afraid of?

WELL, he has other points. He says that under SALT II, the Russians would have to dismantle and destroy "far more launchers than we will in the next several years." Right, but that is merely a subtraction from redundancy, isn't it? In the past ten years or so, the Soviet Union has increased its inventory by eight thousand warheads, approximately, and we have reduced ours by about eight thousand. So that if such a polarization was voluntarily countenanced, what harm can come of an increase in it, provided the U.S. stays above the threshold necessary to assure deterrence?

What about the point that the Soviet Union, as a totalitarian state, can crank up the assembly line faster than we can, hampered as we are by democratic misgivings plus the economics enforced by Gramm-Rudman? Again, we were assured we do not need more of what is on the assembly line. What is not yet on the assembly line is the SDI, our projected space shield; and the American people have not yet ruled out its development.

But the senator's most vulnerable point is his suggestion that our own misbehavior contributes to Russian obstinacy. "President Reagan has called into question the ABM treaty with what many believe is a preposterous reinterpretation of one of its important provisions governing new and exotic defensive systems."

There is a subtle point here, though it works against the senator's thesis. It is true that the interpretation of the ABM treaty we recently played with—that it does not govern Star Wars, because Star Wars technology was not among the technologies the development of which is proscribed by the ABM treaty—sounds shifty, a little eristic, to use columnist Meg Greenfield's favorite word. But that is a reason for scrapping the ABM treaty, which has been an anachronism for years. If Mr. Reagan will go full circle and renounce that tangle of cobwebs, then we can have a full holiday. As it stands, we should declare a half holiday. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR sought for national business association and affiliated educational foundation. Traditional conservative outlook required. Duties involve work with media, copy editing, and preparation of newsletters. Some experience with computers desirable. Good opportunity for recent college graduate. If interested, send resume, no calls, to Executive Vice President Kirk McAlexander, U.S. Business and Industrial Council, 7000 Executive Center Drive, Suite 200, Brentwood, Tenn. 37027.

SO YOU WANT to work in politics? Morton Blackwell's Youth Leadership School can train you to work professionally in conservative politics. Our Job Bank helps with placement. Schools throughout the United States. Contact: School Director, Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151.

Financial

OLD STOCK CERTIFICATES. Is your certificate valuable? Send photocopy, find out. Researcher gives fast, confidential report. $25. James Smith, Box 75, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Situations Wanted

CONSERVATIVE TEXAS JOURNALIST seeks job change. Skilled in rewrite, editing, headline writing, captions, page layout, production coordination. Write NR Box 4316.

RETIRED ARMY OFFICER, 53, with proven record as civilian and military manager, seeks challenging position with Pittsburgh, Pa., firm or nonprofit organization. Write NR Box 4301.

YOUNG CONSERVATIVE, M.S. Russian studies, Phi Beta Kappa, seeks position making full use of academic background and excellent writing skills. Resume and references, write NR Box 4322.

YOUNG, TALENTED WRITER, specializing in aerospace, business, economics, and national defense. Libertarian-conservative. Former editor of aerospace trade publication. Seeking editorial/policy position in D.C. area. Write NR Box 4323.

Vacation

MEXICO BEACH, FLORIDA. New beachfront home, secluded, sleeps 10. 30 miles from Panama City. One week, $600. 904-229-8183.

SUMMER FISHING; beautiful St. Lawrence River, 1,000 Islands. Classics/history teacher, former football coach is your licensed guide. Bass, pike; good fishing, good conversation. Write NR Box 4309.

SCHOLARS, PROPHETS, MEDIA-GROGGY executives, solons desperate for alpine serenity, hear ye: teacher/writer/25-year *NR* devotee offers well-appointed lodging to kindred *NR* reader-savants at $350 weekly, $750 monthly. One- or two-bedroom, ample privacy, stone fireplace, the works, fronting on unduplicated 150-mile panorama of snowcaps in tiny Rockies cowtown. For particulars present your credentials to owner, E. L. Howe, at P.O. Box 81, Silver Cliff, Colo. 81249 or manager, Peggy Rafferty, at 303-783-2354.

Real Estate

STONE COTTAGE by the sea in southern Ireland, with 1.5 acres. Sleeps 3, fully furnished. Low priced at £35,000 for quick sale. Call England 01-876-2914, or write NR Box 4288.

VIRGINIA. Corporate relocation, development ventures, commercial sales, market analysis. Call, write Robert C. Smith, Esq., Virginia Landmark Corp., 1807 Libbie Avenue, Richmond, Va. 23226. 804-285-3935.

For Sale

ABYSSINIAN KITTENS. Excellent lineage. C.F.A. registered. $300 each. 607-647-5635.

BATTLESHIP BASEBALL CAPS—the same caps sold aboard U.S. Navy warships, navy blue with service gold direct embroidery including scrambled eggs. *USS Iowa* BB-61, *USS New Jersey* BB-62, *USS Missouri* BB-63, *USS Wisconsin* BB-64, *USS Arizona* BB-39. $14 each or all five for $60. Add $2.50 for shipping, allow six weeks for delivery. Hampton Company, Dept. A., P.O. Box 1307, Tustin, Calif. 92681.

BOEHM PORCELAIN: Killdeer pair, hallmark 473. Blue-jay pair, hallmark 466. $17,500 cash for both. Write NR Box 4295.

THE ONLY PIECE of the Statue of Liberty that you can hold in your hand. We donated the 25,000 copper rivets needed for the restoration, and wish to share the leftovers with the grandchildren of Ellis Island for just the cost of postage and handling: $1.75 each to Nancy Stein, 1711 Manse Jolly Road, Anderson, S.C. 29621.

IRISH-AMERICAN HISTORICAL GAME, meticulously researched, finely illustrated. Includes 1-hour tape of music, book of ballads, poems, questions, illustrations, large map-board of Ireland, 6 wee elves, much merriment! $12.95 postpaid. Box 127, Belair, Md. 21014.

USE MICROCOMPUTER seated in easychair. Plans $3: Comfort Table, P.O. Box 593, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 63701.

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $20, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262-0277. Telephone 517-287-5888.

Literary

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1324NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NR, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

SPECIAL ISSUES of *The Chesterton Review* available. Hilaire Belloc, Charles Dickens, Christopher Dawson, Father Brown. Subscriptions $16. Free copy of a special issue with each new subscription. Write: *The Chesterton Review,* 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N OW6, Canada.

NAVAL, MARITIME, MILITARY BOOKS. Send $1 for catalogue. Kriegsmarine Naval Research, 1 Austin Street, Belleville, N.J. 07109-1943.

Services

MILK'S CAMP INDUSTRIES is a small, independent, Sioux-owned industry. We have very high-quality productivity, but due to technological change we may lose our largest customer. We want to serve customers who need labor-intensive, error-free services such as manufacturing, hand-inspecting, assembling, packaging, and shipping wire harnesses. Cottage work available. Write Box 67, Bonesteel, S.D. 57317.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

R. G. FICHENBERG:

Same Old Story

Gorbachev's performance since the Chernobyl accident confirms that the Kremlin psychology hasn't changed, despite changes at the top. Gorbachev is no different from Brezhnev, Chernenko, or their predecessors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY FOR COLLEGE. National scholarship matching service. Reliable. Guaranteed. Information packet $1. Change, Dept. N, 4009 Pacific Coast Highway, Torrance, Calif. 90505.

RESEARCH/WRITING. All fields. Confidential. Reasonable rates. Research Service, Box 48862, Niles, Ill. 60648. 312-774-5284.

SUCCESSFUL PUBLICITY for your club, organization. Proven techniques: $2.95. Rafael Ciesielczyk, PR Consultant, 48 West Shawnee, Schnecksville, Pa. 18078.

SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS FOR COLLEGE are available. Millions go unclaimed yearly. Receive details by calling 800-USA-1221, ext. 0627.

Business Opportunities

HUNDREDS WEEKLY. Become circular mailer. Home-operated. Sincerely interested, rush stamped envelope to: National Mailing, Box 19759-NR12, San Diego, Calif. 92119.

Gourmet

CROISSANTS. Honey-laced, all-butter croissants. Traditional recipe with a twist. Send $2 to M. Thomas at NR Box 4310.

Educational Opportunities

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE. Guide to colleges offering nonresidential degree programs through independent home study. Accredited, economical, accelerated programs. Credit given for prior accomplishments and work experience. Free detailed brochure. Write: Dr. John Bear, P.O. Box 11447-NR8, Marina del Rey, Calif. 90295.

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions-NR, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93060; or call 805-525-4417.

MEDICAL & VETERINARY SCHOOL vacancies in Chilean university. Inquire O'Connor's Medical School Placement, 5041 Cathedral Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. 202-686-6922.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

ENTREPRENEURIAL WOMAN, 30, constant reader, loves songs, numbers, wings, wheels, water, city, country; seeks male companionship, looking forward to marriage and children. Write NR Box 4275.

NORTH JERSEY single "girl," 50. Loves snow, kids, God's world; likes hiking, doing nothing, laughing, learning; would like to share common interests with Catholic man. Write NR Box 4303.

ATTRACTIVE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, 34, tired of "rat race," wants to meet caring professional male, financially secure, with traditional values. Non-smoker, tennis, swimming, cycling. Southwest Michigan preferred. Send birthdate, photo to NR Box 4319.

ENERGETIC PETITE DIVORCED white female, 55, Christian background, seeks traditional man to enjoy relationship with a special woman. Psychotherapist with eclectic interests who loves good conversation and laughter, I am joyful and loyal to people I love. If you are an educated, thoughtful man with hopeful expectations, let's meet in NYC. Write NR Box 4320.

CALIFORNIA GENTLEMAN FROM SPAIN, single. Interested in history, travel, and business, seeks lady about 35–50, with a desire to share our lives and interests. Write NR Box 4321.

WANTED: Mother-in-law with loose strings for fun/friendship by pretty, 36-year-old, independent, lively lady, college grad, currently in Pa., with New England roots, who enjoys home-improvement projects, sewing, music, dancing, reading, woodsy walks, deep talks, who just might be right for your 35–45-year-old successful, non-macho, non-smoker son with wit, sense of humor, and trust in your judgment (if only this once) when you show him this ad. Write NR Box 4305.

IVY LEAGUE PHYSICIAN, tall, handsome, ex-pro athlete, intellectual, Catholic romantic, 34, new to NYC area, seeks gracious, attractive, bright female, 20s or 30s, who values caring, fidelity, good conversation, and a spirit of fun. Interests include literature, movies, travel, sports. Write NR Box 4314.

ART LOVERS' NETWORK connects single, art-loving gentlepersons. ALN, P.O. Box 5106-NR, Westport, Conn. 06881.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations —members nearby and in seventy countries worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE: Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write ALX, P.O. Box 265, Bensalem, Pa. 19020.

Miscellaneous

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $25 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

SPIRITUAL CLASSICS ON CASSETTE: "Brother Lawrence: The Practice of the Presence of God"; "Fenelon: Spiritual Counsel." Each 60-minute tape, $9.95 postpaid; both for $17.95. Auricle Productions, Dept. 2, P.O. Box 3157, Morganton, N.C. 28655-3151. Satisfaction guaranteed.

WANT TO LIVE? You can have AIDS and not know it. More than two million Americans are already infected. How will you avoid it? Monthly newsletter. Sample $3. St. Rose Research, Dept. N, 1275 4th Street, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95404.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

FREE! A BEAUTIFUL CROSS on a key ring, with a life-saving message from the revelation of Jesus Christ. Send S.A.S.E. to L. Carrozza, P.O. Box 1411, Hightstown, N.J. 08520.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, TECHNOLOGY wanted. Presentation to industry/national exposition. Call free 800-528-6050. Canada, 800-528-6060, ext. 831.

BOSTON CONSERVATIVES SOCIETY social club has monthly cocktail hour. Friendly, intelligent discussions on the issues of our time. It's a chance to get together with people of like thinking. 617-665-8175.

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION: Specializing in supplying medicines/pharmaceuticals to those promoting democracy in Nicaragua. This is your opportunity to assist the Contras and participate personally in establishing civil liberty. We absolutely guarantee correct delivery. For a precise list of medical requirements, write: Law Offices, Jack J. Goehring (formerly Capt. U.S. Army, Vietnam), 1005 Spring Hill Road, McLean, Va. 22102.

GOD LOVES HIS INFIRM and elderly priests who gave their lives for you. For more information write Fr. Wm. Armstrong, S.J., 1107 Astor, Spokane, Wash. 99202.

AERODYNAMIC BOOMERANGS, made in U.S.A. Beautiful 40-layer laminated bent wood. Throwing guide included. $23. Many happy returns! 'Rangs West, 5200 Irvine Boulevard #294, Irvine, Calif. 92720.

AFGHANISTAN—Since 1980 the Afghanistan Relief Committee has been sending medical aid, food, and support for schools to villagers *inside* Afghanistan. ARC is the primary U.S. support source for *Médecins sans Frontières* and others who risk their lives to bring in help. For more information, write to: Afghanistan Relief Committee, Suite 4100, 345 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10154.

NEW CARMEL—FRESH HOPE! Catholic nuns living strict Carmelite rule. Traditional Latin Mass. Prayer/penance for your sins and mine, for Pope and restoration of sanity in the Church. Carmel of the Holy Trinity, RD2, Box 435, Phoenixville, Pa. 19460.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stone and the Solomon Milner stone, both signed "H. Emmes, Boston." Henry Emmes's work escaped both Harriette Forbes and Allen Ludwig, and Mrs. Comb's documentation is a major contribution. These, in the (Circular) Congregational Churchyard in Charleston, have a more sophisticated portraiture than gravestones in New England. Like her scholarly predecessors, Mrs. Combs makes a plea for the protection of this *art populaire*—which is certainly a national treasure—from the effects of erosion, rubbings, and, worst of all, vandalism. HERBERT A. KENNY

Cooking with Antoine at Le Périgord, by Antoine Bouterin with Elizabeth Crossman, illustrations by Antoine Bouterin (Putnam, 288 pp., $24.95)

ANTOINE BOUTERIN is the very talented French chef who produces unforgettably delicious food at one of New York's finest French restaurants on the city's fashionable East Side. Bouterin, who first came to our country in 1980, tells us how he does it in this book of recipes, cooking tips, memoirs, etc. "Simplicity," he says, "is important, as is maintaining a respect for the ingredients; the classic foundations of French cuisine are a natural beginning from which we can create dishes with their own lightness, elegance, and honesty." Antoine Bouterin's food is beautifully presented, and he tells us how to do this in his recipes. I think his fish and seafood recipes are about the most attractive ones I know, and I rejoice in now being able to reproduce them in my own kitchen. But then, why single them out when all the recipes in the book make me want to cook them? Mind you, this is not a book for beginners. Even apart from the fact that great French restaurant food is best eaten in a great French restaurant, you have to know how to cook to do Antoine Bouterin's food. In any case, you will get a wealth of imaginative food combinations just from browsing through the pages. Bouterin also gives a surprisingly simple list of necessary kitchen equipment, a culinary vocabulary, and menu suggestions, as well as suggestions for dishes suitable for diet menus. Most of the recipes are for two servings, because that is how fine French restaurants prepare the most sublime short-order food in the world. NIKA HAZELTON

STRMECKI

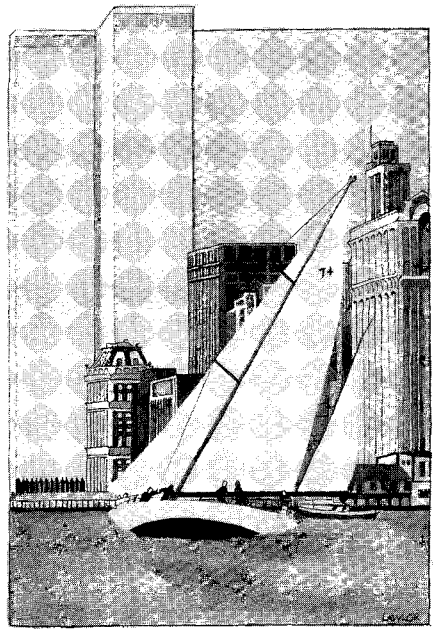
(Continued from page 34)

If so, he has said nothing to indicate a willingness to settle on terms other than his own.

Apart from our support of Pakistan, increasing the quantity and quality of weapons and supplies sent to the Afghan resistance is the most effective action the United States can take. It is wrong to say, as some resistance officials do, that the United States is doing nothing. It is equally wrong to say, as many American officials do, that the United States is doing enough. In many areas, resistance forces have so few arms and so little ammunition that they could not hold their positions for even a few minutes of heavy fighting. American aid will total $470 million this year. That sum sounds large. But it pales when matched against the supply needs of a guerrilla army that, properly equipped, could field several hundred thousand battle-ready troops.

The most acute need of the Afghan resistance is for surface-to-air missiles to shoot down Soviet aircraft. A commander with forces near the Khyber Pass told me, "Mujahedin can overrun all enemy positions throughout this area at will. But we do not attack because we cannot hold these positions once the Russians begin to drop bombs on us." He added, "Without missiles to destroy jets and helicopters, we cannot advance further. With them, we will go all the way to Moscow."

Notwithstanding the Afghan penchant for hyperbole, he has a point. Soviet forces are clearly concerned about the prospect of a proliferation of anti-aircraft missiles. Soviet aircraft on combat missions drop flares periodically to draw away heat-seeking missiles. I visited one resistance base camp near Kabul that had been supplied with five Italian-made copies of Soviet SA-7 shoulder-fired missiles, one of which had been used to down an Mi-24 Hind helicopter two weeks before I arrived. Afghan anti-aircraft capability not only increases the costs to Moscow in terms of lost aircraft—which now total more than six hundred—but also forces Soviet and Afghan-government pilots to operate from higher altitudes, which reduces the accuracy of their bombing.



But these missiles are still scarce. U.S. officials only reluctantly supplied the resistance with a few Stinger missiles, fearing that these state-of-the-art weapons might fall into Russian hands and thus enable Moscow to design effective countermeasures. That does not explain, however, why the United States does not send other anti-aircraft weapons like the Redeye missile, inferior to the Stinger but superior to the Soviet-made SA-7.

Time is seldom neutral in war. Whether time is on the side of the Afghan resistance or the Soviet Union depends on the alignment of the war's three variables. On the one hand, if the United States sends more and better arms, if Pakistan continues to pass along the aid to the Mujahedin, and if the Soviet Union does not escalate its involvement, the Afghan resistance could force Moscow to choose between an untenable military position and a massive escalation within a few years. On the other hand, if the United States maintains or reduces the present level of aid, if Pakistan tries to appease Moscow by cutting off the flow of arms and supplies, and if the Soviet Union greatly increases its forces in Afghanistan, the Kremlin could win in five to ten years.

The present stalemate favors the Afghan resistance in the short and medium terms. Only in the long term—a decade at least, possibly a generation—when Moscow's brutal tactics will have destroyed the rural base of the resistance and when the refugees in Pakistan will begin to lose hope of ever returning to Afghanistan—do the Kremlin's prospects brighten. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collectors' items:

Tea Sets of Royal Tara

— the only bone china made in Ireland

For a number of years collectors have looked to Ireland for the very finest in hand-cut crystal — Waterford, Belleek, Irish Dresden.

All too few of those who collect Irish hand-cut crystal know or have heard of the delicate and *only* bone china made in Ireland known as Royal Tara.

Now tea sets — as shown — of Royal Tara have been assembled in sufficient number to be available to collectors of the exceptional here in the States.

For the time being, tea sets with from two cups to six cups can be offered for immediate delivery together with the bud vase.

Each piece is guaranteed against breakage in shipment. If you detect the least chip, the item — if returned within one week of delivery — will be replaced without cost.

Whether you wish one or several pieces of Royal Tara, see the order blank below for prices and check number desired.

Pleasantville Plan, 62 Eastview Avenue, Dept. RT 34, Pleasantville, NY 10570

Ship _____ teapot(s) $55 each or _____ 2-cup teapot(s) $33 each; _____ set(s) 2 cups and 2 saucers (4 pieces) $36 set; _____vase(s) $48 each.

SAVE $33!

Special — 6-cup teapot, 3 sets 2 cups and 2 saucers (12 pieces) and vase all for $178. Send check or charge AMEX_____Visa_____Master Charge_____ card # _____ expiring _____ . Add $3 for shipping. NY residents please add sales tax.

Signature _____

Name (print) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone number _____

For fast service call 800 334-0854, ext. 854, at any time.

©1985 Pleasantville Plan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOOLS FOR LIVING®

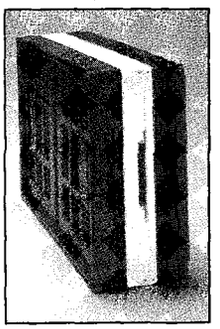
A COLLECTION OF FIRST CLASS CONTEMPORARY MAILORDER PRODUCTS

When was the last time you learned the ins and outs of a product from a sales clerk? Tools for Living gives you high information value shopping. The products here have been researched, used and evaluated carefully and we provide all the relevant information. You can buy with the confidence of knowing exactly what you are getting — high quality, good value and satisfaction guaranteed.

FOOD FOR WOOD

Most of the convenience waxes you buy actually dry out wood instead of nourishing it. What's the alternative? Our choice is Williamsville Wax. It is made of beeswax and lemon oil, heat-blended with other natural oils. It can be used on any type of wood, any type of finish, on paneling or kitchen cabinets as well as fine furniture. Williamsville Wax is super for restoring neglected or mistreated wood. Two 8-oz. bottles cost **$13.00** ($2.95) #A14312.

FLAT FOLDING CRATE

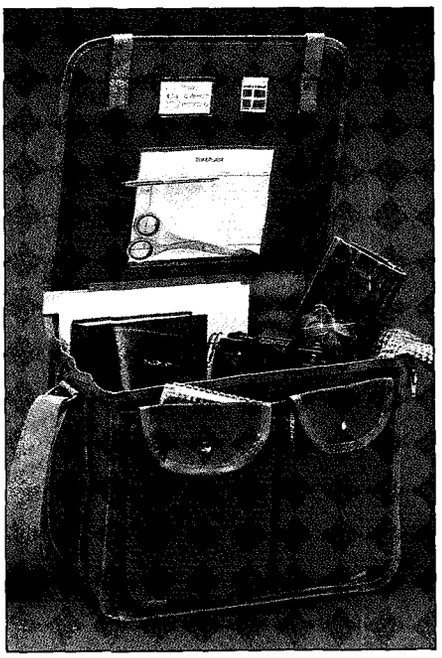


Blending convenience with practicality the Versabox allows you to easily carry groceries, laundry essentials, picnic supplies — anything. Converts in seconds from its flat storage size of less than 3" high, to 10"x20"x12" (just slide up frame, snap down sides). Side grip handles make carrying large loads a breeze. Made of lifetime polypropylene with stainless steel pin hinges the Versabox **can safely hold up to 85 lbs.** and will prove its worth in garage, garden, basement or car. Since these crates stack whether open or folded flat, you'll want to order several. Available in red, blue, and white. Versaboxes cost **$17.00** ($4.95) each. Red #A1586RE; White #A1586WH; Blue #A1586BL. Set of 3 in assorted colors (red, white & blue) **$45.00** ($7.95) #A15893. Optional set of four casters insert into bottom for added roll about mobility. **$7.00** ($1.95) #A1587.

GOURMET ICE CREAM MADE EASY

Homemade ice cream is wonderful, no argument. The sentiment is so American even Thomas Jefferson shared it. But homemade ice cream is typically a lot of work, what with chopping ice, mixing in layers of salt, cranking away forever. The Donvier Ice Cream Maker is another story entirely. Its special Chillfast pot has a refrigerant permanently sealed in its walls. Just store the pot in the freezer. When you're ready pour in the makings of ice cream, turn the handle a few times, and wait. A few more intermittant turns and 20 minutes later you have delicious natural ice cream with the distinctive fresh flavor, smoothness and lightness of homemade. No salt. No ice. No electricity. No hassle. All the fun of homemade ice cream without the trouble. The whole family will enjoy making naturally flavored sherbets, icy colas, low calorie treats. Comes with tested recipes. Easy cleanup too. Donvier Chillfast Ice Cream Maker will give you a gourmet reputation with a minimum of effort. Pint capacity, **$36.00** ($4.95) #A1536; Quart capacity, **$49.00** ($4.95) #A1537.

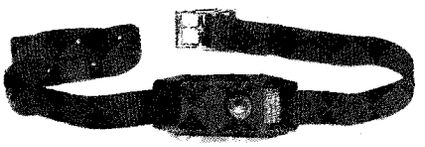
BOOKBAG



This oversize bag is an overwhelming success with photographers, artists, students, musicians, dancers, opera singers, nuns, poets, duck hunters, cyclists, plumbers, teachers, reporters and travelers...because it's a versatile labyrinth of roomy pockets. Made of waterproof canvas that wears like iron, the bookbag has an unusual zipper design that enables the bag to expand to double its normal width — to a full 8 inches. It also has two outer pockets in front and a large back pocket. An adjustable 2" wide strap makes the burden easier. Choose grey #A483, brown #A484, tan #A808, black #564. **$29.00** ($4.95).

DO FLEAS HAVE EARS?

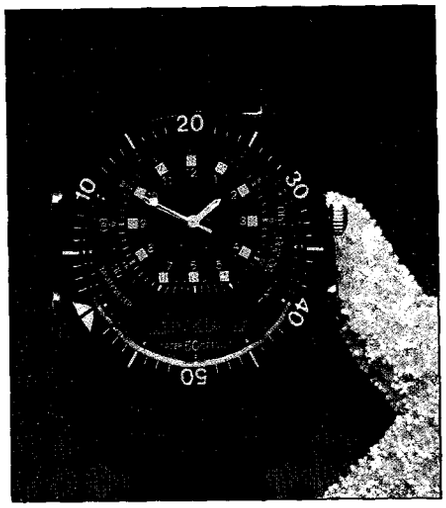
The Microtech Flea Collar with its blasts of ultrasound creates such an intolerable environment that fleas and ticks abandon their pet hosts within 5 days. It is designed specifically for fleas and focuses on a 4' zone of protection, the Microtech Collar outperforms other kinds of ultra-sonic pest chasers. A vast improvement over poison powders and chemical collars. Works on cats *or* dogs. Adjustable 19" collar fits 97% of dogs and runs for 6-8 months on 2 lithium cells (included). You can afford to see if it *really* works because you are fully protected by our guarantee — you have nothing to lose but the fleas! **$59.00** ($4.95) #A1256 each.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOOLS FOR LIVING®

DIVER'S WATCH AT A ROCK-BOTTOM PRICE



The first thing to amaze you about this custom chronograph is its array of useful features. But the real surprise is the whistlestop price: under $50. The Diver's Watch is rated waterproof to 5 atmospheres (over 150'). The movable bezel, case and band are all "black chrome" plated in a rugged matte finish. Two sunken faces provide fully independent digital and analog timekeeping, so you can set one face to home time and one to travel time. Date, day and month display; alarm; 1/100 second chronograph with lap timer; choice of hourly chime, 12 or 24-hour format. Precision Japanese movement. 1-yr. warranty. **$39.00** ($4.95) #A1490.

ODOR ELIMINATOR

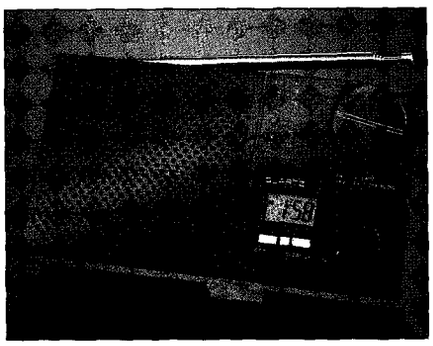
Mother Nature knows a *lot* about cleaning, since her realm is continually decomposing. Bacteria produce enzymes that devour all manner of organic wastes. Now you can put this natural process to work in your home, eliminating *all* the waste residue from pet accidents and other odor-causing problems. Even works on mildew and perspiration. Two 16 oz. bottles of OUT! cost **$13.00** ($3.95) #A14962. Dilutes for economical use on any water-safe surface.

E-Z KEY FINDER

Keys are misplaced more often than any other modern essential. Now thanks to E-Z FIND your keys can tell you where you put them. Just clap your hands four times and E-Z FIND chirps electronically. Works up to 30' away. The only keyfinder with a U.S. patent. Special hybrid microchip design requires no on/off switch (other units need you to turn them ON *before* you lose your keys). The E-Z FIND unit has a tough high-impact plastic case, weighs a mere ½ oz., comes with its own key ring, measures only 2½" x 1⅛" x ⅜", and costs **$13.00** ($2.95) #A1600, two for **$23.00** ($3.95) #A16002, batteries included. 30-day warranty.

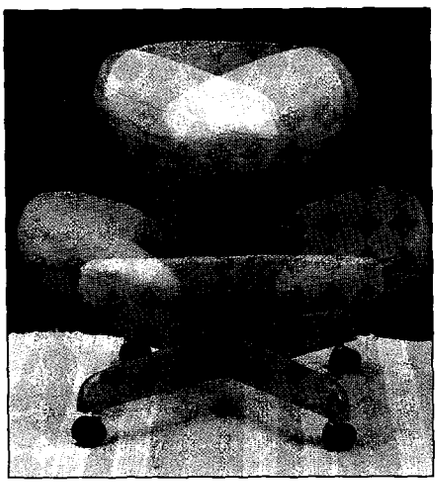
TRAVELERS' COMPANION

A compact full feature battery operated AM/FM radio with a LCD alarm clock, smaller than a paperback book. Listen to AM or FM, (telescoping 17" antenna for superior reception), wake right on time to alarm, check the time or date at a glance, (displayed in large LCD numerals). All this convenience packed into a stylish black case, only 5½" x 2¾" x ⅞" and barely 8 oz., uses 9V battery, not included. No traveler could ask for more useful features in a smaller, handier radio. The price is compact too, #A1603 **$19.00** ($4.95).



IT SWIVELS!

Backless "Back" Chairs have solved the age-old problem of proper seating, aligning the body on its natural axis so that sitting does not stress spine or back muscles. The redistribution of body weight is dramatically more freeing, natural, comfortable. But until now you had to give up mobility to sit this intelligently — these chairs were unidirectional and if you needed to change orientation you had the awkwardness of moving the whole chair. Finally it swivels! In its brand-new swivel incarnation, the Back Chair is suited for use at any work station, desk or table. The reinforced oak 4-star base has commercial-quality dual-track casters for easy manueverability over carpets or floors. Effortless swivel action. Manual height adjustment. Gray poly-cotton fabric over plush cushion. This is a new twist on a good idea and until you use it you don't know how relaxed and productive you can be sitting down. The price is a nice turn too, only **$69.00** ($11.95) #EVA1337. Minimal assembly.



*ORDERING INSTRUCTIONS AND GUARANTEE: We ship via United Parcel Service wherever possible to insure prompt delivery. The price of each item is shown followed by its shipping and handling charges in ( ). Be sure to add the item price **plus** shipping and handling charges for each item ordered to arrive at the **total price** of each item. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return the article to us within 30 days, and we'll exchange it or refund the item price per your instructions.*

TOOLS FOR LIVING

FOR FASTEST SERVICE ON CREDIT CARD ORDERS CALL TOLL-FREE 800-334-7777 IN NEBRASKA CALL 1-800-642-9900

DEPT. REG06; 400 S. DEAN ST., ENGLEWOOD, NJ 07631

ABOVE NUMBER IS FOR ORDERING ONLY, FOR CUSTOMER INQUIRIES CALL (201) 569-9717.

SEND TO (PLEASE PRINT)	ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION/COLOR	ITEM PRICE	SHPG. & HNDLG.	TOTAL PRICE
ADDRESS						
CITY STATE ZIP						
ENCLOSED IS A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR $ PAYABLE TO **TOOLS FOR LIVING.**						
☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA EXP. DATE						
ACCOUNT #			ENCLOSED IS $1.00 FOR YOUR NEW **TOOLS FOR LIVING** CATALOG.			
SIGNATURE					**TOTAL AMOUNT**	

(Sorry, we cannot handle Canadian, foreign or C.O.D. orders.) Please allow 30 days for delivery from our receipt of your order.

© ISP, Inc. 1986

ADVERTISEMENT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

All of the definitions for this puzzle are anagrams.

A. URN GRADE
110 171 99 11 52 146 27 67

B. STEEL MEN
66 140 10 149 41 87 1 129

C. HAVE ICE
50 75 6 164 118 156 25

D. SUN SALE
176 79 15 125 29 47 95

E. LATE TOTE
78 107 24 135 39 119 93 143

F. REEL BLEMISH
173 13 36 134 123 165 139 69 2 55
91

G. STOOP FOR
98 115 112 43 144 60 81 30

H. FLOCK BOAT
158 33 109 116 76 59 131 124 16

I. A PRISON CALL
73 163 122 18 104 151 34 94 85 3
46

J. RAKE VOTE
44 21 160 108 147 68 133 92

K. FOOT FRYER
127 113 162 77 58 12 102 175 35

L. FED INK
117 167 148 72 22 38

M. SENOR
28 105 61 90 157

N. ON ONE RAFT
37 103 64 150 114 152 86 14 51

O. HE'S IN HOSE
136 145 74 63 88 17 166 40 120

P. SHEAR
56 84 19 159 130

Q. HALF SUB
23 155 48 101 137 4 82

R. CAVY CODA
141 153 106 71 62 97 9 172

S. GAIN HASH
42 70 138 161 5 54 20 126

T. HER CHAT
154 174 53 132 65 111 7

U. FINER
89 128 169 8 45

V. NO SIOUX
26 83 121 57 170 31 100

W. LAX GAY
168 49 142 32 80 96

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 52 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 B	2 F	3 I	4 Q	5 S	6 C		7 T	8 U	9 R	10 B	11 A	12 K		13 F	14 N
15 D	16 H	17 O	18 I		19 P	20 S	21 J	22 L		23 Q	24 E	25 C	26 V		27 A
28 M	29 D	30 G	31 V	32 W	33 H	34 I	35 K		36 F	37 N	38 L		39 E	40 O	41 B
42 S		43 G	44 J	45 U		46 I	47 D	48 Q	49 W		50 C	51 N	52 A		53 T
54 S	55 F		56 P	57 V	58 K		59 H	60 G	61 M	62 R	63 O		64 N	65 T	66 B
	67 A	68 J	69 F	70 S		71 R	72 L		73 I	74 O	75 C	76 H	77 K	78 E	
79 D	80 W	81 G	82 Q	83 V	84 P	85 I	86 N	87 B	88 O		89 U	90 M		91 F	92 J
93 E	94 I	95 D	96 W		97 R		98 G	99 A	100V	101Q		102K	103N		104I
105M	106R	107E	108J	109H	110A	111T		112G	113K		114N	115G	116H	117L	118C
119E		120O	121V	122I	123F	124H	125D	126S	127K	128U	129B		130P	131H	132T
133J	134F	135E	136O		137Q	138S	139F	140B		141R	142W	143E		144G	145O
146A		147J	148L	149B	150N		151I	152N	153R		154T	155Q	156C	157M	
158H	159P	160J	161S		162K	163I	164C	165F	166O	167L	168W		169U	170V	171A
	172R	173F	174T	175K	176D										

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ART OF EASY CARE PERFORMANCE

"Dogwood and Peony" from Linens by Vera

VISA® DAMASK

Visa fabrics by Milliken.
The superior name in
high performance easy care.
For freedom from staining, from fading.
Little or no ironing.
For brighter brights, whiter whites.
For the best of everything
in quality, support, service.
Visa of Dacron.*
America's Freedom Fabric.

America's Freedom Fabric
VISA
BY MILLIKEN
Fabric that cares for itself. And you.

DACRON® DUPONT POLYESTER

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

®Visa is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.
*Dacron is a Du Pont registered trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COLOR OF LIFE

KODACOLOR AND VR-G ARE TRADEMARKS © EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, 1986

ANNOUNCING THE MOST ACCURATE, REALISTIC COLOR IN PRINT FILM.

Kodacolor VR-G 100 FILM

NEW KODACOLOR VR-G FILM
THE COLOR OF LIFE

Kodak

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED